

# THE LIVING AGE

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## A WEEK OF THE WORLD

### BRITISH LABOR REPORTS ON RUSSIA

RATHER more space than usual is given in our present issue to the ever interesting and important question of Russia, in order to include the articles by Alderman Ben Turner, chairman of the British Labor Delegation which recently visited the Soviet Republic to investigate conditions there. The *Daily Telegraph*, in which these articles were originally published, explains that the original manuscript was posted in Russia but had not reached London. Carbon copies, however, were brought back by Mr. Turner on his return. We join with this article an interview with Lenin by a well-known Norwegian Socialist, who is in sympathy with Bolshevism; because it throws an interesting light on the personality of Lenin himself, and upon the purpose and tactics of the international Communism, with which we are dealing in this country.

### AN ARGUMENT AGAINST NATIONALIZATION

PROFESSOR BRENTANO'S article, 'Why a Middle Class Will Survive,' has attracted attention both inside and outside of Germany, mainly because of the increased skepticism he expresses as to the possibility of socializing any indus-

try. State ownership of coal mines in Germany dates back to the time of Frederick the Great; and the Saar valley has been worked by the state since 1815. Prussian administration was notably efficient. However, the following comparisons of the individual output and the cost per ton in state and private mines tell their own story.

#### Individual Output per Annum

	State Mines	Private Mines
1909	221 tons	246 tons
1910	218 tons	251 tons
1911	229 tons	261 tons

#### Cost per Ton

	State Mines	Private Mines
1909	11.45 marks	10.01 marks
1910	11.23 marks	9.79 marks
1911	10.71 marks	9.63 marks

At this time the state mines produced nearly fourteen per cent of the national output; but development was relatively much faster in mines worked with private capital.

### JAPAN'S BUSINESS CRISIS

A TOKYO correspondent of the London *Economist* writes under the date of May 3, that the shadow of the recent crisis still hangs over that country and that there is no reason to believe that business instability is nearing

an end. He thinks that in all probability conditions will be worse before they are better. We quote the following from his readable and well-informed communication:

The difficulty is one that has been long overdue; for the unprecedented expansion of currency and enormous inflation of credit could not go on unrestrained, and the banks have been warned more than once to curb speculation. In spite of a tightening money market, new enterprises were being recklessly floated, and by the end of March last the total figure for new undertakings was as much as 4,445,222,750 yen, or more than that for a whole year in Japan's past economic history. This figure is some 3,000,000,000 more than for the first three months of last year. This has been largely due to the action of the Bank of Japan in issuing notes and advancing credit beyond bounds. The manufacturer goes to the bank for loans to carry on or launch new enterprises. The size of the loan will be influenced by his net assets as compared with his current liabilities. With the proceeds of the loan the borrower can bid up the market for materials and secure workers by offering higher wages. This enhancement of prices enhances the value of his stock on hand when he seeks the next loan. Thus the granting of credit immediately tends to increase prices by putting new power into the hands of the borrower, and by increasing the amount of currency in circulation. Inflation is the cause and not the result of high prices. This has gone on in Japan until the banks can no longer stand the strain and the bubble must burst.

#### FRENCH COMMENT ON HARDING

EUROPEAN papers comment with interest upon the Republican Convention and the nomination of Mr. Harding. The Radical Democratic daily *Dépêche de Toulouse* considers the choice of the Chicago Convention satisfactory for France, because Senator Harding is not pro-German. It is evident that he will not insist on the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles as it stands, but no Republican if elected would do that. Europe seems to anticipate that the Republican candidate will win. Continuing its comment this paper says:

The success of the Republican candidate will seal the failure of the policy to which President

Wilson rather imprudently engaged his country, at a time when he was not certain of his ability to impose upon the government at Washington the doctrines he defended so eloquently at Paris. . . . The outcome is most disappointing, for without Mr. Wilson the treaty would have been very different and undoubtedly much harsher for the Germans. Now the United States may sign a separate peace with Germany, in which case the latter country will retain all the advantages it secured at Versailles while France will be deprived of two guaranties: the League of Nations and the defensive pact embracing France, England, and America. . . . None the less it is probable that Senator Harding has a better opinion of France than Mr. Wilson ever had, even in our days of peril, when the friendship of the two nations was closest.

The more conservative *Temps*, which often acts as a mouthpiece of the government, in an article entitled, 'President Wilson's Succession,' says:

If the Republican candidates win on November 2, the government of the United States may try to substitute 'impartial courts' and a general assembly of all the Powers, to be called immediately whenever international peace is threatened, in place of the Wilson Covenant. This prospect lends great importance to the labor of the International Commission of jurists, which has begun to draft a project at The Hague for a permanent tribunal to deal with controversies between nations.

#### THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

GREAT BRITAIN is discussing with interest the renewal of the Japanese Alliance—a device for which the League of Nations apparently does not offer a satisfactory substitute. Professor Longford, the author of the first of the two articles we publish upon this subject, served in the consular service in Japan for thirty-three years, and subsequently was Professor of Japanese in the School of Oriental Studies in London for thirteen years. He has written many volumes upon Japanese history and institutions and industrial conditions of that country.

Honorable E. G. Theodore, who argues the case against renewing the alliance, was prime minister of Queens-

land throughout the war, heading a labor administration. Undoubtedly he accurately voices Australian sentiment upon this subject.

#### FRANCE, POLAND, AND THE UKRAINE

WE recently referred to the conflict of opinion among that small element of the Ukrainian nation whose voice reaches the ear of Europe, regarding the recent Polish offensive against Kieff. *L'Humanité* contains an article by Daszynski, a former leader of the Polish Socialist party in the old Austro-Hungarian Parliament, defending Poland's policy, in which he says:

Not a single Polish soldier has set his foot on Russian territory. Vilna, Minsk, Dunaburg, and Kieff are not Russian cities. They are not situated in Russian territory, but in territories subjugated by Russia and held in slavery by that country.

In another issue *L'Humanité* states that on February 19, 1920, the French military assistance in Poland included 9 general officers, 29 colonels and lieutenant colonels, 63 majors, 196 captains, 435 lieutenants, or altogether 732 officers, with 2120 common soldiers. This mission is costing France 16,000,000 francs, and its presence in Poland is alleged to be one of the main obstacles in the way of peace between that country and Russia.

#### PETROLEUM AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

PETROLEUM continues to play an important part in international affairs. In particular, control of the district around Mosul in the valley of the Tigris — whose flaming oil wells are supposed by some archæologists to be symbolized by the angels who guarded the Garden of Eden with flaming swords — has become the subject of newspaper controversy between France and England. Evidently the authori-

ties at the Peace Conference bear conflicting testimony as to what was really agreed upon; with the result that both France and England now present claims to these supplies. *L'Eclair*, Mr. Briand's organ, throws the whole blame for this controversy, and the other controversies that have arisen between England and France in connection with the Peace Conference, on the fact that the leaders of the four great Allied Powers insisted on discussing the conditions of peace themselves and altering the map of the world in accordance with their own ideas, instead of leaving these questions to professional experts.

#### RESUMING DE LUXE TRAVEL

AMONG the more hopeful news items from Europe is the announcement that the great international express trains are beginning to resume operation. The Paris-Prague-Warsaw-Vienna express and the Ostend-Prague-Warsaw-Vienna express are already in operation. They consist entirely of International Sleeping-Car-Company's sleepers, parlor cars, and restaurants, and run three times a week. Another international express from Ostend and Brussels *via* Lyons and Paris to Milan and thence to Bucharest has also been announced, to begin running early in July. It is proposed ultimately to have connections with Constantinople and Athens. The Paris papers also announce a South Morocco express between Boulogne, Paris, Madrid, Cordova, and Algeciras.

#### MUTINIES IN ITALY

JUNE issues of Italian newspapers devote much of their space to the extensive disorders then occurring in that country. Serious trouble broke out in Trieste, on June 11, where hundreds of soldiers mutinied under the suspicion that they would be called upon to serve

in Albania. The mob swept through the streets shouting 'Down with the war!' Some of D'Annunzio's *Arditi* were prominent in the mob. An attempt to start a counter-demonstration was speedily suppressed. Officers were disarmed and beaten. Bombs were thrown against the Town Hall and other public buildings, and many soldiers deserted from the barracks. For the same reason the railwaymen had gone on a strike throughout Northern Italy. Milan was isolated by a zone about ten miles wide, across which there was no railway traffic whatever. The people mainly blamed for these incidents are Mr. Nitti, the Allies, and President Wilson. Giolitti appears to have suddenly become popular with the discontented class.

Although Italy is thus weakened by internal strife and political instability, there are some hopeful signs of economic recovery. Imports are rapidly increasing and exports decreasing, so that the total improvement in the trade balance for the last six months of 1919, as compared with the corresponding period for 1918, amounts to well toward two and one half billion lire.

#### RIGHT OF PETITION

THE *Glasgow Weekly Herald* contains the following amusing account of the experience of a British citizen who tried to exercise the right of petition at a wedding in Surrey at which Lloyd George was a guest. The episode became public when the petitioner sued a local police sergeant for assault, on account of the rough handling he received from that officer:

The applicant felt very strongly about the Russian question. He thought it was a very good opportunity for him to have a word with Mr. Lloyd George. When the latter reached the church, witness said to him quite respectfully, 'Hands off Russia, please, Mr. Lloyd George.'

I would say the same thing to the King or any-

one else on earth, as I feel very strongly on the question. I said to the Prime Minister, 'Hands off Russia,' and he replied, 'Mind your own business.'

When the bridal party left the church I said to the Prime Minister, 'Please raise the blockade. Mr. Lloyd George.' It is very difficult to get hold of these people, and, as a citizen, I claim that on constitutional grounds I was entitled to put that question [*sic*] to the Prime Minister.

Then Sergeant Harris took hold of me in a most brutal manner, and threw me into the road. The sergeant was most arrogant, and endeavored to tread on my toes and cause a breach of the peace. That spirit should not be shown by any officer in the police force.

#### RUSSIA'S GOLD AND IRON

RUSSIA'S gold is apparently becoming a cause of discord in Europe, especially between England and France. The latter country claims that it should be reserved as an asset to pay what Russia owes to its bondholders in other countries. The common English opinion is that the interests of all lands trading with Russia, will be best served by using this gold to restore railway equipment and other facilities of trade and commerce. When the war broke out, the Russian Government Bank had more than \$800,000,000 worth of gold in its vaults, and in addition well toward half a billion dollars were in circulation. During the war this quantity fluctuated, and even before the first revolution had considerably declined. By October, 1917, the banks' holdings had fallen below \$650,000,000. During the revolution part of this money was withdrawn from Petrograd and nearly a quarter of a billion dollars fell into the hands of the Kolchak government. The Bolsheviki claim that all of this has been recaptured.

*Stahl und Eisen* contains an informing report upon the metallurgical industries in South Russia in 1919. We quote from an English summary the following interesting paragraphs, describing the conditions that followed Denikin's retreat:



As soon as a town has been conquered by the fighting troops, the organizers of the various state institutions follow hard upon their heels. Soviets are immediately formed and Commissaries appointed for the individual branches. Orders are issued in such profusion that, for instance, at the writer's works it took two officials nearly all their time to read them through and make the necessary arrangements. A majority of the workers exulted, but there were many who asked themselves what must be the ultimate result when, on the very day after the victory, bread prices rose from 1.50 rubles to 5 rubles per Russian pound, the works at the same time being deprived of such vital supplies as coal and raw materials.

The five largest smelting works in the Ekaterinoslav district, namely, the Dnieprovienne, Briansk, Chaudoir, Hantke, and Estampage were, with one stroke of the pen, brought under one management, consisting of one workman and two Russian engineers (not Bolsheviks, only 'sympathizers'). A grand scheme of coöperation was drawn up, whereby one works was to support the other, both as regards production and the exchange of working materials. At the very first exchange the Works' Councils disagreed, each putting a higher valuation upon its goods than the other. The Works' Councils now found that their powers were no longer so great as in the early period of the revolution, the Bolshevik leaders having gained much in experience since then. The power to engage or dismiss workers, hitherto in the hands of the trade unions, now devolved upon a Works' Commissary appointed by the Supreme Soviet.

The whole question of wages in all industries was determined by the Works' Commissary. Thus the power of fixing the basic wage was taken out of the hands of the Works' Councils. Wages were based on the prices of foodstuffs, especially bread. In fixing the basic wage for Moscow and Petrograd the highest number, 100, was taken, these places being dependent upon grain imports. The figure for other towns was proportionately less, for example, for Tula 90, for Charkov 70, for Ekaterinoslav 60. On the basis of these proportional figures the Works' Commissary fixed not only the hourly wage of the day laborer but the maximum earnings of the skilled worker. A Wage Committee was elected at each works, that the workers might not be bereft of the illusion that they themselves determined their wages. The work in each section was most carefully graded and the output compared, so that valuable data were obtained for fixing the

scale of pay for piece work when Lenin found it necessary to revert to that system. The rate of pay was, however, not very high, and, in comparison with the ever-increasing advance in food prices, was almost inadequate. In 1918 the Bolsheviks were already cured of their nihilistic tendencies. The object now was not to destroy but to maintain and save everything for the 'people.' Again the worker was the first to be hit by the saving system. Instead of earning thousands a month by overtime, it was now a penal offense to work overtime. The 'nationalization of the works' was re-introduced, all works that had a turnover of more than 1,000,000 rubles in 1918 becoming state undertakings. The workers soon discovered that state employees might also put forward demands, and called for a solution of the housing question for all workers. For the Chaudoir Works alone, at which approximately 3000 hands were still employed, estimates amounting to 40,000,000 rubles were made for workers' dwellings and benefits, a sum more than four times the share capital of the company.

The works have passed through very trying times; they have suffered heavy losses, but they have not been destroyed, as was generally supposed. Most of them were even able to rescue the stocks required for carrying on operations, and now are really only in need of coal. A few years of assiduous work and good harvests in the Ukraine, and these afflictions will be but an episode in the history of this rich land.

#### MINOR NOTES

FRENCH agriculturists have an organization known as the C. G. A. (Confédération Générale Agricole) whose official organ denounces bitterly the constant strikes which are agitating that country. Recently there has appeared as an offshoot of this organization the National Union of French Peasants which has enrolled 181 senators and 305 deputies to form a counterpoise for the General Federation of Labor which was responsible for the recent general strike in France.

ACCORDING to Swiss reports the coal output in three important districts of Czecho-Slovakia is sixteen per cent higher than it was in 1913.

## FROM RUSSIA DIRECT

[*London Daily Telegraph* (Conservative Daily), June 14, 15]

### 1. *Personal Observations in Sovietland*

BY BEN TURNER

WHEN I had been in Moscow a day Lenin invited me to come and see him in the Kremlin. A London friend of mine, a Russian, took me, and was there to act as interpreter if need be. As we entered the outer porch of the Kremlin we were pulled up by the soldiers on guard, but the special pass provided for our British Delegation proved a document that gave us the entry into everything and everywhere.

This universal pass was enclosed in a folding leather case. Inside, one page was printed in English, and on the other page was the same matter printed in Russian.

The size of the card is three and one half inches long by two and three quarters inches deep. The print is as follows, both in matter and shape:

Workers of the world, unite!

All power to the Soviets of Workers, Peasants, and Red Army Soldiers' Deputies.

P. 0010 C. P. Welcome to Socialist Soviet Russia.

The bearer, a member of the British Labor Delegation,

Ben Turner,

is allowed to enter all the Soviet institutions, the building of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, and of the Council of People's Commissaries (Kremlin), also all public institutions, theatres, concerts, etc.

All the military and civil authorities are requested to render to comrade Ben Turner all possible assistance.

L. KEMENIFF, president, Moscow Soviet.

Chairman all Russ. Cent. }  
Council of Trades Unions } M. TAMSKIY.

On the top of the right-hand corner is the coat-of-arms of the Russian Re-

public — a sickle, a hammer, and a sheaf of corn surrounding a block of metal or wood.

It is a tasty document, and whenever we did show it, which was rarely, it got us into places very freely and also out of the city without question. At the Kremlin I got past the soldiers on duty and into the offices of the Chief of the Republic.

At once we each began to talk. He was very free and open. The picture I had got of him was that of a ferocious mouth and face. I had pictured him, therefore, as a short-chinned, black-bearded man, with a cruel mouth. That was the impression I had received. He was nothing of the sort. He is a medium-sized man of about 12 stone weight, looking his 50 years but no more. His chin has a short beard of a sandy color, quite different from that I had pictured him. He has a hearty laugh, although I should say he can laugh desperately as well, but with me he was soon on the best of terms, and, as he could talk English very well, the interpreter was only needed for very occasional words.

I asked him about the blockade, the Polish offensive, the British intervention, the Red Terror, nationalization of women, and other things. Over the nationalization of women he laughed heartily, and said the men and women of Russia were as true to each other as any in the world. He was amused to think that such stuff was printed in the European press, and recognized that the same kind of story was spread about in Hungary, when they established for a short time the republic under Bela Kun.

On the question of evolution and

revolution we were at points of difference. I held that I wanted our changes to come by evolution. He believes capitalism cannot be overthrown without force. Not that force will come from the workers, but will come from those who possess the land and the capital and the finance of the country. 'They will use force,' he said, 'to maintain what they have, and the workers will have to use force against them.'

I argued with him on this point, but he is convinced that the Russian revolution came by force, used first against the workers and then by the workers, and that capitalism will use it in any other country. He argues keenly, frankly, and openly, but without heat and by cold logic. I should say he is a very able man, a dogmatic man — a man with a purpose and a cold, hard, matter-of-fact policy that he understands. On intervention he was very plain that the Russians wanted to interfere with nobody outside Russia, but he believes — they all believe — that Russia's example will change the face of the European situation.

We argued about the Red Terror, which he said arose from the White Terror. They did not want to arrest or kill any Russians, but they were going to defend the revolution. They were going to maintain, by force, if need be, the dictatorship of the proletariat. I wanted to know about freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of labor. He pointed out to me our Defense of the Realm Regulations in war time, our limitation of the freedom of speech and press during war time, and said they were being warred against, and said the Soviet government had to overcome spies and counter-revolutionaries. He made no bones about it.

He could not understand my being a pacifist; perhaps nobody can, but I am, by instinct, if nothing else. As to trade

relations and peace with Britain, he said they had made offers. They could not keep on making offers, but they were ready for negotiations. They had flax, corn, platinum, gold, and other commodities which they were ready to exchange; they would even make concessions for the sake of securing peace externally, which would bring peace internally. They were, however, sure that the Polish offensive had behind it the Allies, and they could not remove capital punishment nor stop arrests or imprisonment while explosions, fires, treason, spies, and espionage were surrounding them. He was openly, or, as some would put it, brutally, frank.

We talked about literature, of which he is a great reader, and also a writer of note. We talked about Germany, and about British and French Socialism. I do not think he has a high opinion of our Socialists. He certainly has a false impression about the strength of our Left Socialist party. He gives Miss Pankhurst more credit than her following warrants, and I should say he is deceiving himself a good bit, but that may be due to the isolation Russia suffers from by the boycott of the rest of Europe.

The second interview I had with Lenin was the official interview with the rest of our party. That has been dealt with in other papers by other writers, but he was still candid and frank, as his letter sent to the British Socialist party executive, and also given to Mr. Shaw and myself as well, indicates. He is a powerful man; I do not think he is a vain man. He is a plain, frank man, and he is worshiped by many. They exhibit pictures and busts of him in numerous public buildings, and this may make him vain.

I think he misunderstands the psychology of the British mind. He believes we are nearer revolution than many of us think. It may be that he

has misunderstood it. In the room was a plaster bust of Lenin being done by some sculptor.

While I was with him an artist was busy sketching me on paper, and when he showed me the several drawings a few days later he seemed to have got me very well limned. They have official artists, and they never let what may be a striking hit in history slip at all. I am glad I saw him. We had a talk as close as men could have together. We drew our chairs up to each other, and while I could not argue him out of some things, he impressed me with his ideals and his determination to win through.

The greatest commercial concern in Petrograd was the famous Putiloff Works, in the suburbs of the city. It covers an immense acreage on the shore of the Gulf of Bothnia, and has shipbuilding slips and a berth for repairing vessels. Locomotives and wagons are also built in the miles of workshops, which before the war employed about 40,000 hands. It now employs about 8000, counting men, women, and children, yet it seemed to me to have more employees about than there was work for. They have very fine engineering plants, machine tools from Berry's, Sowerby Bridge, Parkinson, Shipley, and some from Manchester, but much from Germany and America. When they get peace they will want much more, for some of it is in need of replacement and repair. They have huge overhead and traveling cranes, and are as well equipped as any similar great works in Great Britain, except that they are in need of repair, oil, and other accessories. A great number of sheds were not working. The plant where they were busy was making implements of war. The foundry was in full working order, everybody at top speed, and there men and lads — mostly men — were at their best and

hardest. A woman or two could be seen, but they sat in a box by the side of a steam hammer, and as the hammerman wanted the hammer to fall on the red-hot metal, that he and the hammer might shape and temper and harden it, the woman lifted a little handle that released the hammer; a light job in a hot place.

They had excellent dust-extracting pipes all over the place, and all their works, as far as a layman could see, were efficiently fitted up. The worst things about all the works were the sanitary conveniences. These seemed always to lack water.

We traveled a considerable way on a little narrow-gauge train to the shipbuilding and repairing docks. They had small war vessels at the wharf, but were awaiting material for repair. Slips were ready to build merchant vessels, but here again material was lacking, and everywhere the hand of want was in evidence. I have heard many stories about the destructions of icons, the religious emblem so prized by the Russians, but a large number of icons were in evidence in these works. Some of the big ones were tasteful works of art, railed off and well protected. I think there would be at least one in each shed, and one of our party said he had counted 14. Thus one of many lies is disposed of, and I have seen hundreds upon hundreds of icons in many villages, and towns, and railway stations, beside the multitude of them that is in the vast city of Moscow.

We learned that from the big works they had sent many men into the army in the Tsar's days, under Kerensky's government, and under the red régime of the revolution. The chairman of the shop committee of the great place had raised and commanded a regiment in Kerensky's days, and since then had been on two fronts with other regiments of his fellow workmen, and was

wounded once. To the unions now falls the lot of choosing who shall join the army when a new draft is called for. In one woodworking place we visited, in one department the call came for two men as their quota the other day. The draft is found as follows: The 20 workpeople in the shop were called together by the shop committee steward, lots were cast, and a young man and a much older man — there are few old men to be seen — were drawn. The authorities said the older man should not go, but he protested and said it was fair he should. They would not let him, and another draw took place. A second man was selected, and without a murmur they both went.

There is a reason for this besides sentiment. The soldier gets better and more food, his wife and children are also looked after, and things are better for the man in the army than even in the days of the old régime. There also seems a genuineness in the desire to go and 'beat the Poles,' who have made them another war when they are hungry and want peace. This spirit is in some of the workers at the factories. For example, we visited the First Government Clothing Factory, employing over 1500 people, 95 per cent of them females and young persons. It was a great clothing factory, turning out 2000 military overcoats, 5000 other military garments, and 500 civilian suits for men and lads per day. It began with 13 employees in April, 1918. The staff now works on two shifts per day, 600 work on the forenoon shift of eight hours per day, and 900 work on the evening shift of seven hours per day — the shift working from 5.30 to 12.30 midnight, including half-hour for meal. In some factories or 'enterprises' where they work three shifts, the night shift is six hours. They fix through their trade union the hours of labor and also grade the productiv-

ity of the employees. They consider that in the 43 operations necessary to complete a military overcoat, three hours is the time to be spent on it.

One reason given for more employees on the evening shift was that they must overcome illiteracy, and the adult women who cannot read have to go to a day school each forenoon to be taught. They say education is good for all, and they then provide it and make it compulsory. The factory was too crowded, and in the pressing room too hot, and they had not as many machines as in a good factory. They had Singer sewing machines in two rooms, they had only one knife-cutting machine in the big cutting room, and shortage of machinery was the cry here. They showed us one room where, when Yudeaich made his offensive on Petrograd, the workpeople in the top floor could see the battle raging, and they resolved to make coats for their soldier brothers, and the output increased.

In one room some women pleaded with us to end the blockade. They showed us their boots; they wanted more boots; they were hungry and wanted some food. In another part the women sang the 'Internationale.' In and among the men we got to some who could talk English, and while there are many in disagreement about the system of government, they were all agreed that they must keep the present government in power until Poland is 'licked.' At another clothing factory they had 550 employees, 60 of them men and lads. It, like the others, resembled a Leeds factory of 25 years ago, and is as good as some of the less efficient ones of Whitechapel to-day. It was a women's clothing factory, and there is a good trade possible for Lancashire linings, Morley cloth, and an opening for much machinery as well. In the former place they have their



own dining rooms, which were not good. In this latter case the workers of three factories are fed in one central dining room.

These factories for clothing are one reason why many shops are closed up. They have closed the little tailor shops employing two or three or four hands, and put them into the big clothing factories both for economy and for the sake of productivity.

They are making productivity a fetish — in such a way as I think our folks at home would n't accept. But when I said this they retorted, 'We should n't do it for a capitalist or speculator, but we will do it for ourselves because we are the state.' In all the factories there are shop committees, and for 12 clothing and other factories there are two inspectors, a woman and a man. They have to see the sanitary and health conditions are complied with, that the wage tariffs are observed, the machinery maintained in a safe condition, and the health and food of the workers kept up to regulation. They are chosen by the trades unions and submitted for confirmation to the local commissariat of labor.

The question of whether Communists or Mensheviks were predominant in the factories was asked by some of us everywhere, for we could see that the ruling powers were the Communists, and in practically all places the Communists were in a minority; but, strange to say, in a majority on shop committees or trade union executives. They get elected — perhaps they are more forcible, perhaps they are more liked, or pitied, for nearly every leader we saw had been in prison or in exile, or both, for his political views.

Most men in managerial positions in factories were not Communists, and I think many of them would like to return to their old positions of being free from the state and under private man-

agement. However, the experiment is going on, and politically the government is very stable. Lenin and his people are very able, and economically the experiment is developing, and they may pull through. The odds are much against them, for the people are very hungry, and, while hunger makes revolutions, evolution is a safer plan for democracy.

One big textile factory visited in Petrograd was the Government Kutug factory of woolen products at Pavel Gorev. The manager sent his best greetings to a Batley neighbor of mine, who has worked in Russia many years. The manager is a Russian, and was elected to his post by the workpeople. He had just been reelected. They recognize they must have experts at the job. This mill was taken over by the Government of Textile Unions in April last year. We went through all the place. They had some decent milling machinery, cutting machines, and finishing plant. The chief employees were women. There were more people employed at the work by half than there would be in England. They had a decent 'willey hoil' with a good blend just being put down of wool and shoddy. The 'scribbling' machinery was not very antiquated; they had four 'bobbin' machines. The 'mule-gates' were just being restarted — they had been frozen during the winter — and some were turning out yarns of about 15 skeins. They spun both on bobbins and on tubes. They insisted on my bringing two bobbins of weft away with me, but they got lost on the journey. They had 48 looms running, but the warping machines, warp-dressing machines, and winding frames seemed of a rather antique sort.

The foremen are males, the other workers are chiefly females, as most of the men are at the war. The mill was only half going, owing to lack of fuel

and other supplies. There was a grand engine house at the factory. Before the war they made shawls, rugs, and fine cloths of wool. Now, they are using mungo and shoddy.

There are houses or blocks of flats built to the mill, and I went into one worker's house. It was small, but as clean as a pin. There were evidences of hunger, and the meal time is much of a tragedy, except that all get a share of the food that there is. They had just started garden allotments near to the mill, and each person had his or her patch, which will help to ease matters in a while. The president of the All-Russian Textile Trades Union was with us, and the chairman of the shop committee and the manager gave us a rough meal of black bread and cheese and the eternal tea, in his office.

There are fewer textile workers in Russia now than in 1917; over 400,000 members now, as against over 700,000 then. They have lost many by disease, famine, and war, but a number have gone into other industries, as they have not fuel for all mills, nor oils nor other raw materials. They have not nationalized all mills; the smaller ones are controlled by the state board, but not owned by it. They have 117 cotton mills, 116 woolen mills, 50 silk mills, 20 hosiery, 74 linen, and 17 jute mills run by the workers; the rest are controlled, but not run, by the state.

[*Social-Demokraten* (Norwegian Official Socialist Daily) May 14]

## II. Lenin on Revolutionary Tactics Abroad

BY JAKOB FRIIS

Moscow, April.

A person can slip into most of the commissariat's offices without many formalities. The military guards, who were probably necessary enough in the beginning, have now been dis-

continued. A one-armed *tavarisch* (comrade), however, stands on the stairs leading to Lenin's office. He proves himself to be a real Cerberus. I attempted to get by him without the usual *proppusk*, the countersign which must be obtained from a special office in the Kremlin. I had an appointment for a certain hour and asked the *tavarisch* to call up Lenin's office on the house telephone and satisfy himself that it was correct. He rang up and was informed that it was correct. But nevertheless he demanded the *proppusk*. It made no difference what Lenin's secretary said. I must go out and secure a *proppusk*. He looked so intensely earnest and good, this *tavarisch*, that I could not be angry at him. It was as though he said to me, 'This guard duty is serious. We do not stand guard here at the entrance to the Holy of Holies for mere show.'

Lenin himself, on the other hand, does not demand many formalities. He is friendly and approachable as always. I have met him a couple of times before. At the Party Congress he often came out and chatted with us foreigners. His nature is so simple that it is practically impossible to describe his character. One is tempted to say that he has no personality. The fact is that one never for a moment notices his being conscious of his own greatness. So great is he.

His eyes are brown with a little touch of red. He is a little deaf in one ear and therefore talks rather loudly, and often bends a little toward me. When he wishes to bring out an important point he closes one eye while he thinks, and at the same time a knowing smile comes over his face.

Lenin began at once to question me about Norway and the status of the party there. He wanted to know all about the strength of the party and of the Labor movement, the number of

party newspapers and their circulation, and the relative numbers of industrial workers and peasants. I had to answer as well as I could on the spur of the moment, but had to admit to myself that it was a shame to know so few statistics about my own country.

'English influence is very strong in Norway, is it not?' asked Lenin. 'This can be seen clearly in the bourgeois press.'

'Oh, yes, that is undeniable, although you cannot point to any direct influence. But certain papers such as *Tidens Tegn*, for example, seem to follow England through thick and thin.'

When I mentioned *Tidens Tegn*, Lenin laughed heartily. He remembered the newspaper from the interview with Puntervold about Russia, and happened to think of the moral disturbances which Puntervold told of, because the Bolsheviks had suppressed the bourgeois press.

'Yes, he evidently did not understand anything about the revolution,' laughed Lenin.

I had to tell him a little about Puntervold's later activities, *Arbedder-Politikken* and all that.

'But he and his sympathizers are still in the party? None has left?'

'No, none has left it.'

'That is a little suspicious. Is the Right Wing of the party strong?'

I reassured him by telling him of the status of the trade union movement. If the largest trade unions were not on our side the presence of the Right Socialists within our party would be a danger, but as long as the trend within the trade movement is clear there is no danger.

'But the peasants?' asked Lenin. 'In Norway there are only small peasants, are there not?'

'Yes, on the whole. And their interests are for the most part the same as those of the workingmen.' I men-

tioned Tranmæl's name and told him that he was a peasant by birth, a trade unionist by education, later a party editor, now a secretary of the party and the party's recognized leader.

'Has he ever been in Russia?'

'He has never had time. He is always busy lecturing and traveling.'

'Give him my regards. The Norwegian peasants have become wealthy during the war just as the bourgeoisie have?'

'Yes, but the collapse when peace came has taught them something also.'

I took occasion to change the subject to Russian affairs. 'This is also the greatest problem as regards Russia: what are the peasants to do in the end? When commercial relations are resumed will not money acquire a value again and the peasants have capitalistic interests?'

'Naturally this is our greatest problem,' answered Lenin. 'Our policy consists, therefore, of gathering in the hands of the state as large stocks as possible of the articles which the peasant needs, and barter with the peasants. We have gathered bread cereals. The first year we had 30, the second year 100, and now we have 150,000,000 poods (one pood is 36.114 pounds). We buy the cereals from the peasants at fixed prices, but as the money has no value the peasants will, in reality, get nothing for their cereals. When we have salt, for example, the peasant would rather have that than money. But naturally there will be many difficulties with the peasants. They have stowed away large bundles of paper money, and that influences them. They are, therefore, Mensheviks to a large extent; they want 'freedom of trade.' Statistics show that half of the grain supplies of the cities are furnished by the state, the other half by smugglers at prices ten times as high as those of the state.'

'Do you intend, then, to use the Red army against this "internal enemy"?'

'Yes, of course. What the peasants call a "divine natural right" we call *high treason*. This is the great difference. The peasant has two souls. He has seen that the revolution has made him free; for the first time he has seen a government which uses its power against the rich. He has learned to understand the Soviet system and has worked himself into it. He understands that the government has good intentions, even though many mistakes be made. This is one of his two souls. We wish to encourage this one. *His other soul is one of property rights. We wish to kill this one — by agitation, circulars, explanation, but also by the help of weapons, by the use of the power of the state.* What have not the workingmen suffered — on account of the peasants? What has the dictatorship of the proletariat brought the workman? Greater hunger than before. Whereas the peasants, on the other hand, live better than they ever did. It is difficult for us to get meat because the peasants now eat it themselves. Under the Tsar the peasants were plundered. Now they eat their fill. The workingman averaged 11 poods of bread a year formerly, now he gets only seven. The peasant, on the other hand, gets 17 poods a year. This is the best proof that the working class has not seized the dictatorship from any selfish motives, but for the good of society as a whole. The class-conscious workman understands this. The poor workman curses; the class-conscious one understands and demands practical measures of prevention against hunger, but does not complain. He wants better organization.

'We must admit that we have suffered from a shortage of persons qualified for the work of governing. We have had to give young men in the

twenties important positions. The educated bourgeois engaged in sabotage. We ourselves often thought that we could not hold out. By the help of the industrial workers in Moscow and Petrograd, and a few other cities we have governed our country for over two years and driven all our enemies off the field. Our opponents themselves must recognize the phenomenal way in which our leading workingmen have *worked*. The physicians constantly report cases of what the French call *surmenage*, over-exertion, over-work, among the leading Communists.

'It is only now that one can see the long-hidden strength of the people. And one begins to understand that world-revolution is becoming a reality. For example, Lloyd George's last speech shows this. That which is now of paramount importance is that the workingmen should not let themselves be frightened away from the revolution because of the sufferings which it entails. The Right Socialists try to frighten the laborers. Otto Bauer, Longuet, Kautsky, Branting flinch when they think of the sufferings of a revolution. They all talk loudly about enlightening and educating the workingmen, but the most important work of enlightenment, which consists in educating them to self-sacrifice, self-discipline, and privation, that work they neglect. They do not teach the working class that the problem now before the world is one of revolution, or whether 10,000,000 more are to be sacrificed in new wars, and that it is better that a civil war, for example, should cost 1,000,000.'

We then touched on the international party situation. Lenin shows the same intimate knowledge, whether discussing Hungary, Italy, France, or England. From country to country he criticizes the intellectual doubters who confuse the masses of workers. I in-

terposed. 'Can you demand,' I asked, 'the same revolutionary clarity in other countries as in Russia? Life's actual experiences are those that are most convincing. And conditions have not yet revolutionized public consciousness in other countries to the same extent as they have in Russia.'

'Yes,' answered Lenin, 'the war has been such a teacher. Look at Barbusse in France, for example. When I had read his brilliant books *Le Feu* and *Clarté* I was interested to see what he had written before. I read *L'Enfer* and *Nous Autres*, which were written before the war. Out and out bourgeois novels, out and out pornographic literature. In *Clarté* he pictures his own development: the war changed him from a petty bourgeois to a revolutionary. Naturally he is not a trained revolutionary theorist. He still has in him a good deal of French love of phraseology. But his temperament has been revolutionized. And his case is typical.

'Look at the other side: Longuet, who calls himself a revolutionary, Karl Marx's grandson. He bows like a real parliamentarian in all directions. A prattler and a fool! This kind of people must be driven out of the parties. *Otherwise there is danger of situations like the Hungarian arising everywhere. It was Bela Kun's misfortune that the Right Socialists in the party changed over night into Communists and undermined the revolution.* Then consider MacDonald in England. I have just read an article of his in the *Socialist Review*. Hear what he says: "Can Socialism be brought about by revolutionary methods? I do not understand how it can. I am displeased with the Second International. I am displeased with my manner of writing this article. What am I not displeased with?" Have you ever heard the like of this nonsense? He ought to organize a party of his own, the "Doubt-

ers" or the "Party of the Dissatisfied." These are the people who are the greatest danger everywhere. Open opponents are far less dangerous than they. This is the lesson from Hungary. This is also the lesson from Finland. When I lived in Helsingfors before the revolution I found that they were all followers of Kautsky, every one of them. Read Kuusinen's book about their experiences during the revolution!'

'But would you recommend, for example, that we in Norway should begin to gather arms at once? Our tactics are based upon winning over the army through Soldiers' Councils. According to your opinion, are these tactics wrong?'

'No, absolutely not. So long as it is possible, the legal way should be followed. *On the other hand, it is my opinion that a communistic party which only acts legally is not entitled to its name.* But this is a practical question which must be solved for each separate case. Exactly like the question of taking part in a parliamentary election. As a rule we have always been in favor of participation, but under extraordinary circumstances as, for example, the elections to the Duma, we have favored a boycott. *Anti-parliamentarism is one of the communistic child-diseases I have often had to fight against.* In Italy this disease is widespread. There is even a party paper which calls itself *Il Sorjet*, an organ for the communistic "abstentionists," that is, those who are opposed to taking part in the elections.

'Here at home I have, as you know, had to fight Bucharin and Radek regarding similar questions. I was opposed to trying immediately to overthrow the Kerensky government, and I was in favor of the Brest-Litovsk peace. Later they *did* openly admit that they were wrong, and Radek has



indeed so well re-learned his lesson that he has fought better than anyone else against the anti-parliamentary tendency among the Communists in Germany, against Laufenberg, Wolfheim, and the Hamburg Communists. Finally, to sum up what I consider necessary at present: 1. Fight the Mensheviks; 2. Fight the infantile diseases of the Left Wing.'

'How would you describe the last? As revolutionary romanticism?'

'Yes, that will do well enough. But naturally we can't get along entirely without romanticism. Too much of it is better than too little of it. We always have sympathy for revolutionary romanticists even if we do not agree with them. Individual terrorism, for example, we have always opposed. But we have never failed, at the same time, to express our admiration for the personal courage and self-sacrifice of the terrorists. Our standpoint has been: First a close analysis of economic conditions, and then a personal stand and convincing of others. If I were in England, for example, I would be absolutely opposed to boycotting the Labor party, and I would vote for a Henderson government, but would, at the same time, frankly say: Let them show what they can do. It will soon be seen that they cannot accomplish anything. The workingmen will understand that after the war's destruction this way of reform is impossible.

'Revolution is coming unavoidably in every country. But it will be probably easier in the countries of Western Europe than with us. There they have entirely different organized forces in their hands than we have. Temporarily Russia has taken the lead. But when the revolution is over in Western Europe, Russia will quickly lag behind in development. How is it with the intellectuals in Norway, are they strongly reactionary?'

'They have become better recently. Especially the French *Clarté* movement has awakened much interest. When the French authors begin to be Bolshevik the Norwegian authors will follow close behind them.'

'Hm. I don't suppose that such a following of the fashions is much to trust to.'

'Perhaps not, but at least among the engineers I think that there is a real important movement discernible.'

'Yes, they are more or less on our side everywhere. In Germany there is almost an engineers' proletariat, so to speak. It is of the greatest importance to get the engineers on our side. In this country they had, for the most part, purely capitalistic interests. It will also require many years to build up industrial life here anew. It is to be hoped that you will have an easier time of it in Norway.'

Lenin looked at the clock. I got up and thanked him for all his kindness to me during my stay in Moscow.

## THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE

[*British Review of Reviews* (Liberal Monthly), June-July]

### I. *Why It Should Be Renewed*

BY PROFESSOR J. H. LONGFORD

THE question has been asked: 'Should Great Britain renew her existing Treaty of Alliance with Japan?' The answer is 'Yes,' and again 'Yes' — twelve times over, if necessary — emphatically and unequivocally. Experience of the recent past and anticipations of the near future counsel that course as vital in the interests of the British Empire and as one important step in establishing the peace of the world on a basis that will be secure for the next two or three generations.

It was on the 20th of January, 1902, that the first Treaty of Alliance was signed between Great Britain and Japan. It has since, on two occasions, been renewed, and its scope extended, the last occasion being July, 1911, when the treaty now in existence was signed. Its duration was fixed for a period of ten years from that date, and under the terms of Article IV either party to it is obliged to give a year's notice to the other of its intention either to renew or terminate it. The date is therefore very near at hand when a decision will be necessary, and the question consequently merits most serious consideration.

It has to be admitted that there is a formidable element of opposition to the renewal of the treaty, and that this opposition is strong among British residents in the Far East, who have long experience and very valuable vested interests in both China and Japan. It is alleged that Japan is yearly more and

more exposing herself as an ambitious, aggressive, and unscrupulous power; that the Japanese are the Germans of the East, with the German spirit of world mastery; that they are ruled, and all their external policy dictated, by a military caste, saturated with pride, not less arrogant than that of the pre-bellum Prussian Junkers; that no treaty will ever bind this class when it interferes with their ambition; that, at one stage of the Great War, they seriously threatened to convert the existing treaty into a scrap of paper and throw in their lot with what they were then convinced were the conquering Germans; that even the civil government committed a deliberate and shameless fraud when, with a pistol at China's head, when China was in a condition of helpless disorganization, and when European powers were absorbed in the early agonies of the Great War, they presented their merciless 'Five Group Demands,' and affected to observe the terms of the treaty by sending a garbled and incomplete account of the demands to their ally; that they have still more effectively shown their disregard of the most solemn obligations and their contemptuous indifference to European opinion and influence by the wholesale territorial acquisitions which they have already made and are now ruthlessly extending; that Great Britain, if formally allied to them, must share in the dishonor and odium of these acquisitions, though they are all injurious to her best interests; that the alliance may involve Great Britain in war with the United States; and lastly, that the circumstances under which the treaty was made have entirely changed.

Its main object was the provision of an effective bulwark against Russian Asiatic aggression, then in the full tide of its onward flow. Russia threatened India on the one side, and, on the other, Korea and China, and against those threats Great Britain and Japan mutually bound themselves to protect their respective interests in the East. Russia has ceased to exist and no renaissance now within human view will restore her to her pristine aggressiveness. The only power that can now threaten India is Japan herself, who is already sowing there the seeds of national discontent and is becoming more and more ready to proclaim and enforce the doctrine of 'Asia for the Asiatics,' with Japan 'over all.'

All these allegations may be true. For everyone of them there is some foundation; but even admitting that they are true to the core, they do not serve to constitute overpowering arguments against the renewal of the treaty. Indeed, there is only one unanswerable argument against it, and that is unwillingness on the part of Japan herself. Of that there is at present no sign. The most responsible members of her government have, over and over again, publicly and emphatically declared that their foreign policy is unchanged and that the renewal of the treaty is an integral part of it. The military may still turn with longing eyes to Germany, even though broken and defeated, but the military, great as may be their influence, are not all-powerful, and in this respect the civil government will exercise the final decision with the same far-seeing policy that has never failed them. 'The Anglo-Japanese Alliance has formed the foundation of the Japanese diplomacy and the pivot of the peace of the East during the last eighteen years, and the government is desirous of its renewal and ready to take measures for

its maintenance.' These are the words of the Foreign Minister in the Diet. No refusal need be feared from Japan, and Great Britain, if she so wills, can continue to keep her as an ally.

The chief objections that have been quoted are not unanswerable.

(1) 'Japan is ambitious, aggressive, and unscrupulous — the Germany of the East.' She has already absorbed Korea, Liaotung, Formosa, and Saghalin. She is now absorbing Manchuria, Mongolia, Shantung, and Eastern Siberia. Her ambition — as old as the sixteenth century — even extends to the conquest of the great Empire of China. Assuming all this to be true, can Great Britain, the conqueror and ruler of India, throw stones at her for what she has done or hopes to do? Can the United States, who has civilized a continent by the unhesitating extermination of the aboriginal population? Would it not be in the best interests of civilization that the great material potentialities of China should be realized under an honest and efficient administration rather than permitted to run waste under the present corrupt and incapable government?

Japan has worked industrial marvels in Korea and Formosa. Would she not do the same in China? A peaceful and rich China would be a field for trade far too great for Japan to conserve to herself. There would be room for all in it, and no door could be so firmly closed as to exclude entirely either Europe or the United States.

(2) 'No treaty will ever bind the military class. They will follow in this, as in all other matters, the example of their beloved Germany in Belgium, whenever it suits them.' Well, they have hitherto faithfully observed their treaty with Great Britain in every military detail. Why should they not continue to do so in the future? They came, without a day's hesitation, with-

out a particle of ignoble huxtering, into the Great War, in fulfillment of their treaty obligations, and nobly played their part in it, thereby relieving their ally of burdens that might have been crushing. The 'Five Group Demands' incident admits of no defense, but it was not universally approved in Japan, and the repetition of such an instance of secret diplomacy is unlikely.

(3) 'Russia being dead and her menace removed, the original reason for the alliance has ceased to exist.' Russia is not dead but in a swoon. Her resuscitation is certain, and a military alliance between her and a restored Germany is a very possible factor in the future. Japan, for her own protection, might be forced to become a third party to it if not fortified against such an alliance by a treaty with Great Britain, and possibly with the United States. Allied with Great Britain and the United States, she can defy the Eastern advance even of a united Germany and Russia. Not so, she must try to become their friend, and let them find an outlet through the Balkans to India.

(4) 'Japan may seek to relieve the political unrest, which is daily increasing among her civil population, among whom Socialism in its crudest form is rapidly spreading, by wantonly provoking a war with the United States.' If Japan did start such a war, she would be acting against all that modern history has taught us of her character. Neither military ambition nor domestic unrest were the sole causes of her wars with China and Russia, and on three modern occasions the civil government has firmly and successfully resisted the combined clamor, both of the military and of the proletariat, for war. Is it conceivable now that a government which, in all its international relations, has shown itself eminently patient, sober, and far-see-

ing, should ever be so insane, with the example of Germany's fall before it, as to challenge all the might of the United States? In Japan, the feeling now is not that she may be forced to call upon the aid of Great Britain in such a war, but that the latter may call on her.

The Japanese are an insular people, but no encircling seas limit, as they do with the British, their watchfulness of international politics or of the domestic conditions of other people. They now see that there is a dangerous spirit against Great Britain in the United States, which already exceeds in acrimony any that has existed since the days of the Alabama. Ireland is the great, though not the only, factor in its nurture. They closely follow events in Ireland, which are daily and fully telegraphed to their press, and they see the old story of misgovernment intensified with its unhappy reflex on American sentiment. They read Sir Edward Carson's speeches, flinging defiance at the United States, and remember Ulster's share in the direct causes of the Great War. They ask how long will a powerful and high-spirited nation hesitate to pick up the gauntlet so offensively flung before them. Then, what would be their own position under a new treaty? Are they to be dragged into a war with whose causes they have not a particle of sympathy? This is a contingency to which due consideration must be given before the alliance is renewed.

What are the positive advantages which are likely to ensue to Great Britain from the renewal? The acquisition of a powerful ally in a war of criminal insanity may at once be dismissed as fantastic. Japan would be an active ally in such a war no more than Great Britain would have been to her. Putting aside all questions of that war, Great Britain's gain from the

treaty will be far from insignificant. She can continue to be satisfied with the skeleton fleet that now displays her flag in the Eastern Seas, and with the attenuated garrisons that are sufficient for the policing of her great and wealthy colonies at Hong-Kong and Singapore, secure in the thought that the preservation of every direct material interest that she has in the Far East — military, political, and commercial — will be amply guaranteed. The peace and security of her Australian dominions and the tranquillity of India will be equally free from a threatening cloud that otherwise will ever be shadowing them. Militarism may be curtailed both at home and abroad. Valuable markets will continue to be found, enormously developed by peace and good government, in China for the products of Manchester and Sheffield, and the China Seas will remain free.

If the renewal fails, Japan can still pursue her policy of annexation in China, unhampered by the obligation of previous reference to Great Britain, and what can be done to prevent her? What power on earth will undertake a war with her for the mere sake of securing commercial potentialities? Certainly not Great Britain, war-worn, financially exhausted, with her army already scrapped and her navy in process of scrapping. Can she even send out to the Eastern Seas and Colonies the fleet and army which would be required for the effective protection of the interests which have so long been safeguarded by her treaty with Japan? Would not such an action, after all these years, be a direct menace to Japan, provocative of its ill-will, and angrily resented?

Japan has signified her acceptance of the League of Nations, but her acceptance is modified by one fact. *She had not a particle of intention, and never has*

*had, of national disarmament, of reducing, by one rifle or one ship, the great and highly efficient fighting machine which she now possesses. So far from that, she is at this moment devoting the most intense energy to its further development.* Her army budget has been increased threefold. Her army during the war may be taken as having numbered 1,500,000 men. She is now taking measures which will in the future, not very remote, place at her disposal a fully trained army of 4,500,000, and as an index to her continued naval development it need only be stated that the four largest battleships in the world, each of 40,000 tons displacement, are now being built in her own dockyards, and they are intended to be ready for sea in 1922. What can Great Britain ever do against such a power, 12,000 miles away, strong not only in herself, but in every possible defense that nature can give her? If not the ally, she need not be the friend of Great Britain, for whom she has no sentimental affection more than for any other Western Power. The relations between the two are founded on material interests, and if those interests conflict, Japan, unhampered by treaty restrictions, can take any steps which she thinks right to vindicate her own.

The first treaty was the remote foundation for the alliance of the four Powers, which in 1914, in the words of the French Ambassador to Japan, 'assured the safety and liberty of Europe and of the whole civilized world against the brutal aggression of Germany.' Two of the Powers are to-day no longer calculable factors in Far Eastern politics. Russia is rent by civil war. France, exhausted and bleeding at every pore, requires two generations of peaceful recuperation. Great Britain and Japan remain. A third factor is needed to secure the future peace of the world. It is found



in the United States. An alliance between the three surviving Great Powers, complete in its provisions, would contain in living reality all the advantages that are mere phantasms in the illusory League of Nations. None would dare to defy it. Ireland is the main obstacle to the unity of Great Britain and the United States. While its unrest continues, the two can never be whole-hearted friends, and the new triple alliance must remain a vague vision of a happier future. But meanwhile, the first essential step may be taken and the alliance between the two Insular Empires of the East and West renewed to the safety and profit of both.

## II. *Why It Should Be Terminated*

BY THE HONORABLE  
ERNEST G. THEODORE,

*Premier of Queensland*

It has been an accepted axiom of Colonial diplomacy that the Dominions shall not interfere in British foreign policy, which has hitherto been conducted from Whitehall. In many ways this system has had its advantages; but now that the Dominions have put off their swaddling clothes they are beginning to demand, in no uncertain manner, that their views shall be heard in all matters affecting their relationship with the Empire and international affairs generally. If Australia can be admitted to the League of Nations, surely she can reasonably claim to be heard on the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, which vitally affects her in many ways that are too little realized in this country.

The point of view of the Englishman and the Australian with regard to Japan is so dissimilar that it is almost impossible for a person who has only resided in this country to appreciate the real significance of the Australian

sentiment on this burning question.

Japan has a population of 55,000,000, and Australia one of only 5,000,000 people. Japan is overcrowded and hungry; Australia has empty spaces, capable of settling millions of people — a rich prize to any covetous nation that may be looking for an outlet.

It takes the British race about 80 years to double its population by natural increase. The Japs do it in 60. There is the whole crux of the question. If Japan is already overcrowded and is looking for an outlet, what will be the case in the course of a few more years when the present position will be greatly aggravated?

That a real menace to Australia from Japan does exist is no figment of the imagination, and the Land of the Southern Cross should accordingly be left unhampered by treaty obligations, be they ever so alluring, particularly after her experience of Japan in the war.

The story of Japan's faithfulness to the Allies during hostilities has been praised from every platform in the country; but who has put the other side of the case, or told of the *quid pro quo* which she demanded; or worse still, of her ACTUAL ULTIMATUM TO AUSTRALIA, while the war was still in progress? This is a side of the story which history will tell more fully than can be stated at the present time.

All alliances are, of course, based in the first instance on self-interest, but if they are to be effective they must also have the sanction of popular approval. Italy and Austria-Hungary afford a glaring example of what may happen if these essential conditions are lacking, and though it may be easy enough to obtain popular sanction in this country, the people of Australia, who are most vitally affected, will not be prepared for a renewal of the present treaty except in a considerably modified form at least.

Japan has been the Power to reap all the benefits from the present alliance. It will be remembered that after the war with China in 1894-5, Japan was warned off the Asiatic Continent by Russia, France, and Germany. Japan had hardly withdrawn from Manchuria when Germany seized Kiao-Chau, Russia laid hands on Port Arthur as 'compensation,' and England satisfied herself with Wei-hai-Wei. In fact Japan appeared to be altogether in a bad way when first the alliance was mooted. Chamberlain was always favorable, and so in 1902, for the first time in history, an Asiatic race was admitted into an alliance with a European Power on terms of equality. The result was an immense enhancement of the prestige of Japan, who, since that time, has continued to approach nearer to the coast of Australia. Thousands of Japanese have gone to the mines of New Caledonia, but though assurance has been given that they are peaceful artisans, they are also reservists, veterans of the Manchurian War. New Caledonia is only two days' steam from the coast of Queensland, sparsely populated, but with rich resources, and with a climate congenial to the Asiatic. And, rightly or wrongly, the Australian people have felt that the Japanese penetration of the Pacific Islands is a potential danger to the safety of their shores, a feeling that has not been removed by the Japanese mandate over certain of the islands of the Pacific, nor by rumors that it is fortifying those islands.

The fact is that Japan possesses easy, comfortable stepping-stones from

Tokyo to Thursday Island, the Northern gateway to Queensland, and the Achilles heel of Australia.

If the Commonwealth cherishes one idea and emphasizes one sentiment more than another, it is the policy of a White Australia, a policy which has become a national institution and the accepted slogan of the Australian people. All parties are united on this point. For racial, economic, and industrial reasons Australia cannot tolerate a large immigration of cheap labor which would tend to lower the standard of living and produce a hybrid race. This would not be fair to the Australians, nor to the Japanese, nor, for that matter, to the world. Accordingly the immigration of colored races into the country is prohibited. But under the alliance it is impossible to discriminate against Japanese nationals, and therefore anti-Asiatic legislation can only be made effective by a round-about language test.

The democratic sentiment of Australia, too, has been outraged by the sense of injustice in Japan's treatment of China. Can Britain righteously renew a treaty that admits of a policy of spoliation of the defenseless Chinese?

And finally my recent visit to America has convinced me of the fact that a lot of the regrettable misunderstanding between this country and the United States is due to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The treaty will never be understood by our cousins across the Atlantic, who, with a weather eye to Japan, have adopted the maxim of 'trusting in God and keeping their powder dry.'

[*Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna Nationalist Liberal Daily), May 23]

## WHY A MIDDLE CLASS WILL SURVIVE

BY LUJÓ BRENTANO

SOCIALISM is everywhere in the ascendant. Over a great part of Europe the working classes are already in power. Where they do not already rule, they are fairly certain to do so in the near future. These classes are saturated with socialist ideas. Consequently many people are appalled by fear lest the culture and civilization of the world be threatened.

I say purposely, *culture* and *civilization*. How are the two distinguished? By culture we mean man's mastery over nature. In place of blind natural forces we have these forces guided by man's mind and will. The word originated from cultivating the soil in order to awaken its slumbering powers; and it extended from this to the control of other natural forces—not only those of physical nature, but those within man himself. Even the impulses of human nature have been tamed and harnessed, and their energy directed toward definite ends. Those ends and the methods to attain them distinguish one culture from another, according to age, race, and nation. On the other hand, the word *civilization* relates to the conduct of men toward each other. It applies to the body of citizens and the institutions and associations which they create, in order to regulate their intercourse with each other according to justice instead of arbitrary force. We call a country civilized or the reverse according to the degree in which this object has been attained, and the extent to which the social structure is based upon the equal

rights of all. This, in turn, reacts upon the culture of nations. For those heroic deeds which inspired Sophocles in his hymn upon the unbounded possibility of men, and which since his day have immeasurably improved the lot of all, are the acts of free individuals, who show the way to others. Similarly, the ideals which have lifted the souls and minds of men to higher levels have always been conceived first by free spirits of superior intellectual and moral endowment. The dependent of station or spirit never venture to proclaim new truths. Therefore we may speak in the same breath of culture and civilization. The two are closely bound together. All that promotes one promotes the other. All that imperils one imperils likewise the other.

The promotion of culture and civilization is for the most part the task of the middle class. At the time of their origin both culture and civilization depended upon the church and the aristocracy. It is not true, as the old theorists proclaimed, that individual freedom existed at the origin of society. It is the ultimate product of evolution. And this liberation of the individual is the work of the middle class. In the beginning we had communism imposed by the authority of the head of the tribe or of a tribal assembly. Feudalism constituted an intermediate stage, which in turn was broken up by commerce. For the merchant who, in the feudal age, brought from distant lands the wares which the great lords coveted, held no place in

the hierarchy of classes which then existed. He was a stranger. As a stranger he did not respect and follow authority and tradition, but sought only to make the largest possible profit from his goods. In order to gratify the desires which he created, the feudal lords set about to increase their incomes. Among the measures serving this purpose was the founding of cities, which produced ground rents and market tolls. But the tillers of the soil soon learned from the foreign merchants the tricks of trade, and, as their own wealth increased, so did their efforts to liberate themselves from their feudal masters, in order that they might have still more opportunity to gain wealth. They could accomplish this only by organizing. Their organizations were the cradle of modern liberty. But the more trade increased, the less tolerant it was of the restraints imposed by these organizations. In order to invest their capital in the goods which yielded the greatest profit and sell them in the markets that yield the greatest profit men must be untrammelled. So individual firms in turn took the place of guilds. No restrictions then existed on their methods of making money. The road was open for the capitalist *entrepreneur*, combining enterprise and prudence, planning day and night to improve the methods of production and to create new products, which would satisfy better the needs of his customers. Then began that competition which made true the Bible command: 'Go forth and subdue the earth.'

Parallel with the increase of wealth which resulted from the progressive liberation of the individual, was a corresponding modification of culture. Lay culture began to supplant clerical culture. The spirit of commerce developed the spirit of criticism, which began to assert itself in other spheres

of human thought and effort. In place of faith, based upon authority and tradition, science appeared, based upon cause and effect. In place of theology appeared philosophy. Simultaneously a transformation occurred in art, parallel with this transformation in the world of thought. Side by side with the joys of religion appeared the joys of song and beauty. In painting, sculpture, and architecture a secular art arose by the side of religious art. All these changes were intimately connected with the rise of a middle class.

But it was not culture alone that was thus enriched. The relations of man with his fellow men were thereby ennobled. The conception of the equal rights of man supplanted the dogma of the divine right of rulers. The theories thus generalized were speedily put into practice. Liberty became the common property of all. The rights of labor were recognized. The worker obtained title not only to his own body, but to the free disposal of his efforts and to an equal opportunity to enjoy the blessings of culture. But a mere legal title does not guarantee the effective possession of these rights and liberties to those who by inheritance or by default of physical or mental ability form the weaker classes. So the demand arose that these rights be made effective through a new and positive organization of economic life. Thus capitalism, after freeing the world from the bonds of serfdom, has itself produced Socialism, which in turn would dethrone capitalism and the middle class. The question now arises whether Socialism, if it succeeds in this effort, will not prevent the attainment of the very end it seeks. That end is uninterrupted progress toward greater liberty. All modern Socialists borrow their concepts and ideals from the middle class. If bourgeois Liberalism had not preceded, Socialism would be inconceiv-

able. Both aim for the same goal: the greatest good of the greatest number. They differ only as to the methods of reaching this goal. Are the methods of either likely to prevent attaining it?

Middle-class philosophy starts out from the standpoint, that this greatest good is best promoted by encouraging the individual to attain the highest possible self-development. To reach this he must be free. The government should be so organized as to place the fewest possible obstacles in the way of the greatest possible individual development, so far as this does not prejudice the equal right of others to self-development. Bourgeois theory considers this the way to insure maximum production combined with the fairest possible division of products. Each one is compensated according to his efforts. Socialism, on the other hand, believes that the competition of individuals, exerting their utmost efforts in production, results in anarchy, and exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. Therefore Socialism would deprive the individual of control of the instruments of production. The latter they would place at the disposal of the community. They would have communal representatives determine what things shall be produced, and in what way, and how they shall be apportioned to consumers. In place of egoism which now rules commercial life they would set up altruism. In place of the efforts of the individual to produce at the lowest possible cost what others desire, in order that he may thereby make the largest possible profits, they would set up a spirit of self-sacrificing service to the community. Socialists believe that altruism will lead to the better employment of the forces of nature and of men, and to a juster division of the fruits of their labors.

When I last wrote about Socialism, I believed it would be practical to apply

it in a limited field. What I have learned since shows me that I was too optimistic in my expectations. I thought then that coal mining might be nationalized without much trouble. Subsequently I have ascertained from the proceedings of the Berlin Socialization Commission that even their managers admit the technical backwardness of the Prussian state coal mines, and the comparative inefficiency of government-operated mines, both in direct production and in the manufacture of by-products, as compared with private mines. This evidence has convinced me that technical progress in the industry is likely to come to a complete halt, if the mines still operated by private owners should become public property. The backwardness of the public mines is due primarily to lack of initiative on the part of the superintendents. It is not due merely to bureaucratic control, the evils of which might be avoided in a socialist state. Under the latter régime the bureaucracy would be so much larger, that unless it collapsed at the outset, it would necessarily be subject to far stricter discipline than under a democratic government. It is inconceivable that the manager of an industry should be permitted to deal with public property at his discretion. He would not dare to do so, he would not dare to make any improvement without the approval of his superiors, no matter how desirable or urgent he might believe it to be. Experience shows that years elapse before the consent from above can be obtained. In contrast with this, the manager of a private enterprise does not have to secure permission from any superior. His prosperity or failure depends on the way he runs his business. If an improvement promises a profit, he will spend millions to obtain it. This explains why the progress which German coal mining and the produc-



tion of coal derivatives, made during the period before the war, was confined exclusively to private mines. This fundamental weakness of government operation cannot be remedied by high salaries, as Lenin is reported to be trying to remedy it now in Russia. For even the best paid official is still an official, and as such must have his acts authorized by the man above him.

I have been even more surprised, if possible, to read in the evidence taken by the Berlin Socialization Commission that the output of labor in the government mines is also much less than in private mines. The bureaucratic disposition to standardize production has leveled down output to the quantity turned out by the poorest worker. The whole system is characterized by mediocrity. It is a most significant fact that Lenin — if we are to believe the newspaper reports — has resorted to piece-work wages, abhorrent as they are to many Socialists, in order to stimulate the zeal of the Russian workers. Under the circumstances it is easy to comprehend why our social democratic cabinet ministers lately show such reluctance to push forward socialization. The warnings issued in their speeches and in their articles in *Vorwärts* against premature socialization are well worthy of study.

I have pointed out in earlier writings that individuality in the demand for products, and with it all intensive cultural progress, would be destroyed by complete socialization. Since we took the first steps toward civilization, new needs have been first conceived by a few exceptional individuals, whose surplus goods awoke in them a desire for something beyond the mere necessities of life according to existing standards. Private production sought to satisfy these broadening demands, and it soon followed that what was origi-

nally a luxury of the few became a common need of the multitude. History knows of no other method of advancing civilization than by creating inequalities in the condition of men, so that those who have less shall be constantly stimulated to acquire as much as their more fortunate brothers. Scientific Socialists themselves recognize this. The late Friedrich Albert Lange wrote: 'In return for the sacrifice represented by inequality of wealth, men were granted objects for which to live and strive.'

But if production were systematically regulated, the satisfaction of individual tastes and needs would be left entirely to the decision of some official. The sumptuary laws of the Middle Ages would be mere child's play in comparison, for they made a distinction between classes. Were Socialism to become universal, the progress of culture would be submitted to the regulation of consumers' councils, and the progress of the masses would be imperiled. Indeed, as our experience with the rationing of houses already shows, such a policy would destroy culture.

Communism has been introduced quite extensively in the allotment of dwellings. To be sure, we have not yet abolished private property in houses, but the state has deprived owners of control of their property. They pay taxes still. Not only has the proprietor been obliged to admit the quartering of unwelcome guests in his own residence, but he is not even guaranteed the certainty that he will be permitted to live in it himself. It may happen that he is forced to remodel some old shed or barn to shelter his family, while his own house is assigned to other tenants. I can testify to this from my own experience. I have heard complaints from others to the effect that a man who bribes heavily enough

can get any sort of residence he wants, while families who cannot or will not bribe are left waiting for weeks before they can obtain a place to live. As a result of the public administration of tenements, the scarcity of tenements increases every day. It goes without saying that no one will build a house so long as there is a prospect that he will not be permitted to dispose of it, but that instead it will be placed in the hands of an official to handle; so long as he knows that he can neither set the amount of rent nor select the tenant, and that he is not even assured of the privilege of living in the house himself. So private capital is not being invested in buildings. Meantime the government is doing nothing. Worse than that, even the houses we now have are going to ruin. Who is willing to pay the high cost of repairs at present prices, when he cannot recoup himself from the tenants. So these expenses are kept down to a minimum. The result will speedily be that German cities will look like those of Italy in the days of that country's worst demoralization and poverty. We shall still have the ruins of beautiful buildings, dumb witnesses of past glory, where one or two rooms are occupied by an impoverished owner and the rest filled with pauper lodgers.

So the world must have a propertied class. We may call it the bourgeoisie or whatever else we like. It must employ its property to control and stimulate production, and lead the progress of culture. This is imperative in the interest of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, which both Liberals and Socialists desire. In order that the bourgeoisie may freely exercise this function, they must perform their duties very differently than they do to-day. Devotion to their private in-

terests is permissible only so long as those private interests serve the public good. As soon as private property becomes antagonistic to public welfare, it digs its own grave. In England everyone is discussing restoration of exchange as the only way to check the ruinous rise of prices. In Germany each of our numerous political parties is taking a position on this subject. We occasionally hear violent protests from bankers and great industrials against restoring the mark to its old value, because that might lower prices. Men who thus lend themselves to the selfish interests of note-shavers, and export their goods at a time when this endangers the solvency of the state, deserve the hatred which the common people entertain for them. Those employers — happily not all of them — who would prevent the working people from enjoying the very opportunities which have enabled the bourgeoisie to attain their present position, are hated with equal justice. Before the war their obstinate refusal to grant workers their just rights, helped to impress upon the minds of the latter that all relations between workers and employers are necessarily class conflicts. The war and the revolution have forced these employers to make concessions. But there are still many who have forgotten nothing, and who impatiently wait the time when they may extort again from the working people all that the latter have gained. A bourgeoisie so blind and shortsighted as this cannot survive. It will be destroyed, and with it will go all technical and economic progress. To restore feudal mastery over labor and thus defeat the fundamental principles upon which our civilization rests, would forebode the disappearance of the very culture which that civilization expresses.

[*Neue Freie Presse* (Vienna Nationalist Liberal Daily), June 4]

## POLAND'S EASTERN POLICY

*An Interview with Prime Minister Skulsky*

WARSAW, May 25.—Poland's offensive, started immediately upon breaking off peace negotiations with Russia, has created an entirely new situation in the East. That government, which was originally conceded only the right to self-determination by the Western Powers, has now become—regardless of the result of this campaign—a very important influence in the whole East European situation. The statesmen of the world are therefore justly concerned in knowing how Poland proposes to utilize this situation.

Two contrary opinions are heard. One party condemns Poland, alleging that it has not considered the honorable desire of Russia to make peace and has criminally started a new war to gratify its imperialist greed. The first object of the offensive is assumed to be the conquest of the Ukraine. If this succeeds, the government is thought to plan to extend its invasion to the Black Sea and Moscow, destroying completely the Soviet power, and creating a compulsory Polish-Russian state under Polish domination.

The opposite opinion is that Poland has far more modest and honorable designs. Poland's offensive is interpreted in this case as a strictly defensive measure against Soviet aggression. The occupation of the Ukraine is said to be intended merely to insure the independence of that country and make it a buffer against Russia. Poland's much discussed alliance with Petljura is ascribed to no other object than that of securing the permanent friendship of its southern neighbor.

In view of the extraordinary impor-

tance which the new eastern situation has for the whole continent of Europe, I have felt justified in appealing directly to the leading statesmen in Poland for information, and first of all naturally to the head of the ministry.

I began the interview by inquiring: 'What impression have you derived as to the attitude of the Soviet government toward peace? Under what conditions were the negotiations interrupted?'

The Premier replied: 'The Soviet government asked us to appoint a time and place for negotiations without expressing any wishes on this subject. We named Borisov because this place seemed to us to be the most convenient place for such a conference. It was safely accessible to both parties. To be sure, the Soviet government had expressed its readiness to negotiate in Warsaw. We did not feel able to guarantee that a session there would be free from unpleasant incidents. Moreover, our experience with the Bolsheviki led us to expect that their peace delegation might use the immunity of their status to conduct an active propaganda. We did not feel certain that any city in Eastern Europe would be continuously accessible. Borisov is a transfer point for war prisoners and Red Cross missions, where we had practical contact with the Soviet authorities. There was no good reason for rejecting it.

'We were equally surprised because the Soviet government was not satisfied with our offer of an armistice in the Borisov sector, but wanted it extended to the entire front. We could not consent to the latter proposal because we knew the purposes of our enemies. The peace negotiations, conducted in the dilatory manner which the Bolsheviki are wont to employ for practical reasons, would have converted the armistice into that twilight condi-

tion between peace and war which they know so well how to use. They would profit by such a situation to destroy the morale of our army, to encourage fraternization along the front, and to circulate Bolshevik propaganda. In any case, such an arrangement would have enabled our enemies to bring reinforcements from remote districts, in preparation for a new offensive. Their appeal to the Entente was merely another stratagem to cause delay.

'The Russians showed their real purpose when the Kapp revolt occurred in Berlin. In spite of their alleged desire for peace they immediately ordered an advance. We have captured any quantity of Bolshevik army orders proving this. Machine guns were massed behind the front. When, however, the juncture they planned with the German Spartacans failed, the Russians began to concentrate all the troops at their disposal from Moscow, the Caucasus, the Cosack District, and the Siberian front. Naturally we could not remain passive while these preparations went on. That is why we advanced into the Ukraine.'

'Do you propose to adjust your relations with the Ukraine? Do you plan a formal alliance?'

'Our provisional agreement looks only to joint action in expelling Bolshevik forces from the Ukraine and insuring the independence of that country. Our armies will remain in the Ukraine only so long as the military situation requires. Our future relations with that country have also been considered, but as yet only so far as they relate to trade. We do not ask for exclusive privileges. We have merely requested guaranties that Poland shall have most favored nation treatment. We will reciprocate this. We would consider it inadvisable to demand a political alliance.'

'It is said that the present Polish campaign will cause irreconcilable enmity between that country and Russia and that the humiliation of the latter country's national pride may constitute a peril for Poland.'

'We do not plan to interfere in any way with the internal affairs of Russia,' replied the Premier. 'It is not true that we plan to take the Ukraine away from Russia. The Soviet government itself has taken the position that the Ukraine should be independent. It has merely insisted that its own Bolshevik candidate, Rakovski, shall be made president. We are backing a representative of the Social Democratic party, Petljura. As for the rest, we have left the Ukraine a free hand. As soon as its independence is guaranteed, it can, if it likes, join a Russian federation or enter into an alliance with us. Soviet Russia no longer constitutes a military danger for Poland. Even if its forces were well equipped, the Red army is rotten to the core and can offer no resistance to our well-disciplined national forces. There may be fluctuations in the fortunes of war, but we are entitled to believe that the ultimate independence of the Ukraine and the security of Poland are already assured.'

'Has parliament endorsed the eastern policy of the Polish government? What has been the effect of the Ukrainian campaign upon the relations of the cabinet and the chief political parties?'

'We are supported by a full majority of the so-called people's parties. The national democrats did not agree with the government upon this eastern policy. They would leave the Ukraine in the lurch and negotiate with Russia for a joint frontier. The Polish cabinet, however, demands that Russia shall recognize the boundaries which Poland had in 1772. The border nationalities within these boundaries shall be guar-

anted the right of self-determination as promised in the Vilna manifesto of our Supreme Commander Pilsudski.'

'Is the Polish offensive already concluded, or do you contemplate further operations?'

'We plan to maintain the *status quo* for the time being. As I have stated to parliament, we are ready at any moment to consider Russian peace proposals. The present strategic situation will presumably justify us in agreeing to any other point for negotiations possessing the same security as Borisov. But if the Bolsheviki carry out their plan for a further offensive, we must reserve the freedom to take any steps we think demanded.'

[*Hamburger Nachrichten* (Conservative Daily), June 4]

## THE POLISH CAMPAIGN AND THE CRISIS IN ASIA

ONE is struck with the reserve maintained by the British and French press regarding the Polish offensive against Russia. That reserve, however, is easy to understand. The campaign against Soviet Russia was decided upon and its broad lines laid out at the San Remo Conference. Poland supported by France invaded the Ukraine from one direction, and that country when finally separated from Russia was to be divided into two parts so that England might control the Black Sea harbors. Japan was simultaneously to bring pressure against the Far East in order to create an autonomous Siberia. All the border countries were to be supported by the Entente and guaranteed their independence from Soviet Russia.

It looks as though Poland had messed this project by its impatience, just as Montenegro did back in 1912. Apparently Poland was expected to wait until Finland had been induced to un-

dertake, and was properly equipped for, a simultaneous attack. Poland's preparation for so extensive a military undertaking seems to have been inadequate. At the present time it is impossible to predict the outcome of this complex political and military situation. There are too many unknown and unweighable factors at work on the part of the Entente, of Poland, and likewise of Soviet Russia. However, it is already apparent that the Polish enterprise has not succeeded as was hoped and anticipated. After initial successes the Polish troops have suffered one defeat after another, and are now on the defensive on every front. No concealment is longer possible, and even the Polish capital, Warsaw, may be threatened. It is of course conceivable that the Polish forces will make a stand and resume the offensive. It seems to us, however, practically out of the question for the country to duplicate its early successes. And that is for the moment the vital point. The attempt of the Entente to divide and conquer the Ukraine by a south and southeastern campaign and thus to weaken and hopelessly hem in Soviet Russia has failed. Incidentally we should observe that Germany has reason to feel some concern lest the Soviet government win such a significant victory in the Ukraine as to give a great impetus to Bolshevism there, to the detriment of our own present and prospective interest in that country. However, it is too early to speculate upon that. No one knows what the future evolution of Bolshevism will be, and whether conditions might not arise which will make the Soviet government a better neighbor than England and France.

When the Polish armies were at the height of their success, the Moscow government announced that their victory was but temporary and a



speedy change in the situation would occur. So far these predictions have been verified. When we study the matter closely that is only what we might expect. Poland was engaged in a war of conquest for which it had no justification. Soviet Russia was fighting a war of defense which aroused all the national and traditional enthusiasm of the Russians and united the Russian people. It is no fairy tale that innumerable Russian officers, headed by General Brussilov, have enlisted under the banners of the Red government, fighting against Poland for Russia and not for Bolshevism. Lenin and Trotzky have gladly utilized the services of these officers, and from the military standpoint they have no reason to regret their action. The possible political consequences of such a policy are something to be considered in the future. They depend upon the relative strength at some future date of the military anti-Bolshevist parties and of the movement led by Lenin and Trotzky. We in Germany have no data from which to prognosticate what may occur. The complicated situation in Russia is rendered still more confused, because the normal evolution of affairs in that country is being constantly interfered with by Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States. The effect of that interference will in turn depend largely upon the strength or weakness of the Soviet government.

Meantime the negotiations between Krassin and Lloyd George justify even more careful watching. The English press already states frankly that these negotiations are by no means confined to commercial and financial arrangements, but extend to the political field. The British have followed their usual policy of playing both ends against the centre and keeping many irons in the fire. On one hand they agreed with their allies in San Remo that

Poland and Japan should attack the Soviet government, or at least they refrain from preventing such action when they might easily have done so by a shake of the head. On the other hand, the British government has continued without interruption its negotiations with the Soviet authorities. These negotiations are now at a point where they are causing great concern in Paris, which is much depressed by Poland's defeat, and are producing even more distrust and fear in Poland proper. Meantime the statesmen in London trouble themselves not the least for what their allies may wish and plan, but continue calmly on their course. Great Britain knows it is powerful enough in Europe to pursue its own ends without regard for other nations; but outside of Europe the situation is less comforting. We need only consider the Bolshevik advance from the Caucasus into Persia and the fact that Russian-Asiatic Bolshevism is tightening its bonds with Islam. That alliance of interests is no longer a mere plan but an actual political fact of great and apparently increasing importance. The best proof of this is what has recently happened in Persia.

Under these circumstances it requires no particular genius to see that Great Britain's policy in dealing with Soviet Russia is directed primarily toward improving the dangerous situation in Asia and the Orient. No price will seem too great for England to pay in order to save the situation there, providing it is so critical that it cannot be remedied without the friendship of Moscow. Indeed, we may question whether even Moscow's intervention will be effective. Quite possibly the Soviet leaders have started a conflagration in the Orient which they cannot check. Assuming their sincerity, they could, perhaps, accomplish most by keeping arms and munitions from that region.

[*La Publicidad* (Barcelona Independent Commercial Daily), June 3]

## PETROLEUM AND POLITICS IN MEXICO

BY RAMIRO DE MAEZTU

'WITH Carranza dead, will Article 27 of the Constitution remain in force?' asks a Spanish periodical. Apparently the oil wells of the United States will shortly be exhausted. The wasteful exploitation of the trusts, more intent upon immediate profits than on conserving the sources of natural wealth, has drawn so largely upon the latter that they will cease to produce in twenty years. Already consumption in the United States exceeds domestic production, and the Americans are turning covetous eyes toward foreign supplies. As early as 1917 the petroleum output of Mexico alone equaled that of all the rest of the world. One month of the following year that country exported to the United States nearly three million five hundred thousand barrels. The latter country has twice as much money invested in Mexican petroleum as has England, and many times as much as any other nation.

Now we go back to Article 27. The Constitution of 1857 left the right to enact mining laws in the hands of the different states. An amendment in 1883 transferred this power to the Federal government. In the following year a mining law was passed making petroleum the property of the man who owned the land upon which it was found. A vote of the Mexican Congress in 1892 confirmed this principle, and made mineral concessions perpetual, subject only to the condition that taxes be regularly paid. Another vote in 1909 declared that all minerals were national property, except petroleum.

However, in 1916, in the midst of the revolution, a new Constitution was adopted at Queretaro, which contains Article 27. This article declares that petroleum is the inalienable property of the nation, that no oil claim shall remain valid unless continuously worked, and that only Mexican citizens or corporations may own such claims. Where foreigners or foreign companies already own oil lands, they shall be considered Mexican companies in regard to the legal proceedings, which deprives them of their previous right to appeal to their own government to protect their titles.

Various interpretations and regulations under the Constitution followed. Carranza insisted on enforcing the spirit of these laws, which he considered it his mission to make respected; the main point being that Mexican petroleum was Mexican property. As a result, an 'Association for Protecting American Rights' was formed in the United States and Mexico, and began one of those gigantic systematic campaigns of propaganda which were unknown until the beginning of the World War. Carranza was even stigmatized as anti-Christ from the pulpits of many American churches.

Considering what has happened in Mexico, we hardly know whether it is more tragic if the Mexicans have revolted of their own accord, or have done so in the pay of Mr. Rockefeller. So far as the rest of the world is concerned, let us hope that there is no ground for the suspicion that great American corporations are responsible. It was a dastardly deed to kill Carranza like a dog; still much more so to kill him for money; and most so of all, to kill him in days like these.

## LIFE, LETTERS, AND THE ARTS

### FILMS AND PLAYS

LONDON has just seen three new operas by Puccini, *Il Tabarro*, *Suor Angelica*, and *Gianni Schicchi*. Though the London journals write of the opening performance as if it were the first presentation of the operas beyond Italian shores, the present writer is haunted by a notion that the trilogy has had its première in America. The three operas have almost nothing in common save the name of Puccini on the title page of the scores. *Il Tabarro*, (The Cloak), is a grisly little story of passion and revenge; *Suor Angelica*, like the *Jongleur de Notre Dame*, is an opera for women's voices; *Gianni Schicchi* is a first-rate farce. But of the operas more anon.

FROM Oxford comes the interesting note that Viscount Rothermere (Lord Northcliffe's brother) has offered to Oxford University through the chancellor, on certain specified conditions, a sum of £20,000 for the establishment and endowment of a professorship of the history of the United States of America, to be styled the Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professorship of American History, in memory of his son, Captain the Honorable Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth, M.C., Irish Guards, formerly commoner of Christ Church, who was killed in the war. In convocation a decree was proposed gratefully accepting the offer, and decreeing the establishment of the professorship under the following conditions: The holder must at the time of his election be a citizen of the United States of America; he shall hold the

professorship for ten years, and shall be eligible for reappointment for one other period of ten years; the appointment shall be made by an electoral board consisting of the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James's at the time of the election, who shall have a casting vote, the chancellor of the University of Oxford, an elector nominated by the university, and Viscount Rothermere, and each successive holder of the viscountcy, or an elector nominated by him; but if the viscountcy shall become extinct or the holder be a minor or otherwise disqualified for acting as an elector at the time of the election, his place on the electoral board shall be taken by the Lord Chief Justice of England.

THE 'Madame Sand' affair, of which we told in another number, has quieted down, though a recent number of the London *Times* printed Mme. Juliette Adam's personal note to Lord Northcliffe protesting against the injustice done by the play to her famous friend. *The Young Visitors*, after a first burst of success, has been withdrawn, rather a pity, for it was praised by even the most jaundiced of the critics. The American play, *East Is West*, has been received with much favor.

FROM the Italian journals comes the quaint note that the 'Tomb of Virgil' is threatened with destruction by the building of a new railway tunnel. The tomb is probably a legendary one, nevertheless, it is the spot to which

Petrarch and all the generations of humanists have come on a pilgrimage. A monument so venerable should have been treated with more consideration.

THOSE interested in the lovely and venerable monuments of French art which were engulfed in the surge and fury of the war will find their pathetic story told in M. Auguste Marquiller's new book, *La Destruction des Monuments sur le Front Occidental (Réponse aux plaidoyers allemands)*. It is a volume that trembles with righteous anger and indignation. Readers will find it extraordinarily well documented. For instance, it gives an order, found in the archives of a German battery, commanding the shelling of the Cathedral of Rheims.

I remember meeting in midsummer, 1915, a little French infantryman who had been in Rheims the night the cathedral was shelled and set on fire. His description of the ancient figures of the parapets standing stony and still, now lost, now half seen, in the great torment of smoke and flame, was enough to give one the spinal shiver, that supreme appreciation of a work of art. And I remember a little church by the Moselle lines, whose stained-glass windows had been shaken and broken to twisted leaden traceries to which stray fragments of brilliant glass clung, looking for all the world like autumn leaves. What a civilization the machine spirit has produced!

THERE is good news, however, for the artist. A certain Signor Augusto Giuseppe Caprani, mayor of the Comune of Sala Comacina, being an admirer of King Albert of Belgium, left him his island, the beautiful Isola Comacina, no less, so well known to all lovers of Lake Como. And King Albert, like the fine, gallant prince that he is, has returned the property

to the Italian government with the stipulation that the island be used as a residence for artists. His action might be an example for American *richissimes*. An American millionaire might actually see that by doing so mad, daring, unheard-of, and revolutionary a thing as devoting a sum to the service of art, he might actually win more praise for himself than if he devoted it to the service of indoor plumbing or the cure of warts. In fact, so intense is the competition to help along science that the average millionaire has a hard time giving away his surplus. Institutes for the investigation and cure of everything from amnesia to zymotic disease lift their rival marble façades round every park in every city in the United States. Splendid, surely. Did you say that some attention ought to be given the cultivation of the immortal spirit? Out of court!

H. B. B.

ONE of the first things following the outbreak of the German revolution was the abolition of the censorship of films and plays. Art was to be freed from the bondage of bureaucratic supervision. The people were to decide for themselves the relative moral and artistic merits of a film or play, and, so it was asserted by the champions of 'free films,' would exercise a most efficient censorship by simply withholding their patronage from places where performances of a doubtful character were given. It is fair to add that the bulk of the theatres or picture houses did not take undue advantage of the newly-acquired liberty at first, but, as time went on, a distinct tendency on the part of a group of film manufacturers became noticeable to produce films which not only left nothing to be desired as to vulgarity, but often bordered on obscenity.

There was a vigorous opposition by the decent elements, and the press joined in the fight for 'clean films,' though it would appear that the action of the latter often had the unexpected and undesired effect of advertising the film it condemned. Most of these passed under the flag of 'artistic' films,—and they were bad enough,—but their obscenity was even surpassed by the so-called *Aufklärungsfilme*, that is, films intended to enlighten and instruct the audience on the consequences of prostitution and venereal diseases. Opposition to *Schmutzfilms*, catering to the lowest animal instincts in man, was growing fast, causing serious apprehension to film manufacturers, who vainly tried to persuade the black sheep in their ranks to take heed of the public sentiment. At last the government decided upon the reinstitution of censorship, and a federal law was passed to that effect on May 12.

Under the new law, any film to be shown at public performances or sold for such a purpose has to be submitted for examination by a board of censors, and it is interesting to note that this applies equally to films for export. So-called private performances will also come under the heading of public performances. The censorship does not cover films of a purely scientific or artistic character provided they are shown at a public educational institution or any other place recognized as such. No films must be prohibited solely on the ground of their treating on political, social, religious, ethical, or philosophical subjects, nor will a film be rejected for reasons which do not arise from its nature. Permission will, however, be refused if the film contains items liable to endanger public safety or order, offend religious sentiments, or tend to produce a demoralizing effect. Any film consid-

ered likely to lower the prestige of the German nation or to upset the harmonious relations between Germany and any other nation will also be prohibited. In case of a film proving objectionable in part only, permission will be given provided the offensive parts are eliminated and sufficient securities furnished that the latter are not otherwise circulated. Provision has been made, however, that all films of a scientific or artistic value and not fit to be demonstrated at public performances to a promiscuously composed audience, may be shown to specially selected parties. All films to be shown at performances to which juveniles under eighteen years of age are admitted are subject to an especially severe examination, and no permission will be granted whenever such films are held to be likely to have a harmful effect on the moral, intellectual, or physical development of juveniles, or if they tend to cause excessive sensibility. Local authorities, children's protection societies, juvenile welfare committees, and school boards may apply to the district municipal authorities to render the existing law even more severe, should circumstances warrant such a step. Finally, it should be mentioned that children under six years of age are excluded from all performances.

THE following is the text of the address presented to Mr. Thomas Hardy on his eightieth birthday by Mr. Birrell, Mr. Galsworthy, and Mr. Anthony Hope on behalf of the Society of Authors:

'We, who speak for the Society of Authors, would have your eightieth birthday bring you a sign of our homage and our gratitude. As in honor, so in time, your name stands high upon our roll of membership, for you have been of our society from its be-



ginning. In 1909 you were asked to take office as our president — were, indeed, acclaimed to the post as of indisputable right. Alfred Tennyson and George Meredith had been our presidents; what name but Thomas Hardy could be set third in that succession without an evident lowering of its repute?

‘Not by your name alone have you helped our cause. Always you have shown an eager concern with our work, often have busied yourself to give us counsel. Our every effort on behalf of the Profession of Letters has been strengthened by your sympathy. Therefore to you, our president, we of the Society of Authors are deep in debt. Words must be a poor payment; but you will let these tell you that we are not ungrateful.

‘If our thanks go to the president of our society, our homage is made to the master of our craft. Here, indeed, we are at one with all who prize literature. Yet, though all can admire the thing wrought, perhaps it is they who themselves practise an art that best can discern the skill of the artist. Even they may doubt what portion of your work they are to account the highest — your tales, wherein so rare an insight, so passionate a sympathy, picture men and women beset by life’s ironies, and your Wessex shines before us with its market-places, sheltered farms, white roads athwart the downs — or your lyrics, of so magical a skill — or that amazing epic given us by your later years.

‘In this brief letter we can pay no full tribute, and mere praise has ever been little to your taste. Yet on your eightieth birthday we review what time has accomplished, and we desire you to be aware of our belief that your work, which will survive to far-off years, has made, and will make, our England dearer to English folk.

‘And thus, in deep sincerity, we offer you our thanks, our honor, and our love.’

THE play, *Cromedèyre-le-Vieil*, by M. Jules Romain, was presented recently at the Vieux-Colombier. M. Romain is one of the best of the living French poets, perhaps the next best to M. Paul Claudel; and his first dramatic work seemed to contain an almost inexhaustible amount of promise. But it contained no more than that; for at that time M. Romain was a convinced ‘Unanimist,’ an adherent of a somewhat angular and mechanical creed which he himself had played a great part in inventing. But though *Cromedèyre* is still strictly ‘Unanimist,’ M. Romain, grown older and ripier, has managed to make his doctrines more supple, to infuse them with human feeling. *Cromedèyre* is a mountain village of the Cévennes inhabited by a strong, proud, masculine, and happy race, who look down on the people of the valleys as late interlopers, poor weaklings, inferior in every respect. But *Cromedèyre*’s masculinity shows itself in one inconvenient way. In this race the number of male children greatly outnumbers the female; and it has been the habit of the village to fill this gap by the simple process of ravishment from its neighbors. The play opens at the present day, when the crisis is becoming acute, nearly a hundred years after the last rape; and it describes how the old custom was revived, how the brides at first repined, and then, seized by the spirit of their new home, refused all attempts at rescue. It sounds fantastic. But M. Romain, assisted by the company of the Vieux-Colombier, makes it not only credible but moving; and I know of no poetical drama of our time which can compete with the effect it produces.

[The Times]  
WHAT IS 'PROGRESS'?

OF all modern ideas the belief in progress is perhaps the one which has come nearest to the strength of a religion; and, like a religion, it is exposed to vicissitudes from the moods and circumstances of its believers. It has known, in a short life, the fervors of enthusiasm and the peace of establishment. Very diverse optimisms have lodged in its branches. There could be no livelier proof of its elasticity and motive force as an idea than that its staunchest adherents should have been two such utterly different sets of people as the French Revolutionaries and the Victorians. Yet it was not a mere accident of history which transferred the doctrine from the blood-stained idealism of the first to the ideals, with a cash basis, of the second. There is something in its very nature which invites us to embrace it in passionate action, or repose on it comfortably as a fact. Like most of the ideas which move men, it has two faces. As an ideal it inspires men to give effect to it and make the world of their desire. But it could never have arisen as an ideal unless there were facts to suggest it, and it must wither if they refuse their support.

A belief in progress obliges you to accept the test of reality, for it holds up, not a Utopia, but an actual or possible fact. It reaches full expansion when it becomes a belief in something universally true. So Professor Bury, in his introduction to a book\* which was greatly worth writing, ranges it with other ideas bearing on the mystery of

life, like that of immortality, which we adopt or reject because we think them true or false; and he distinguishes it from those human ideals, such as liberty or equality, which we estimate according to our view of them as good or bad.

Psychologically this distinction may be doubtful. We embrace ideals because they seem desirable and good. And since there is a strong human tendency to convert hopes into beliefs, this is the way in which most people, thinkers included, have advanced to the conclusion that progress is a law. But Professor Bury has been right in raising promptly the question of the intrinsic nature of their belief, and the query is itself a sign that the doctrine of progress has reached a critical stage. For the revolutionary thinkers who gave life to it, from Condorcet to Shelley, it was an active enthusiasm and an ideal vision. In the nineteenth century the ideal fire still burned strongly in a prophet like Mazzini and a poet like Hugo, but the extraordinary advance of modern industry stamped the belief with the character of the age.

There, at any rate, was a palpable demonstration of how human energy could change the face of the earth. Guizot's discovery that civilization and progress were the same thing was verified in terms of brute quantity, and the advance of democracy established progress as an axiom in political life. Science was also called as an expert witness; and though her evidence was as inconclusive as expert evidence generally is, it was enough to raise conviction to the absolute degree. From this there was bound to be a reaction;

\* *The Idea of Progress. An Inquiry into Its Origin and Growth.* By J. B. Bury, Regius Professor of Modern History in Cambridge University. Macmillan. 14s. net.

but we may wonder how long it would have been delayed if the war had not brought up civilization with a jolt. Our distance from the instinctive believers is best measured by saying that both civilization and progress have become disputed terms. The war may be used to prove many things; at the least it suggests that progress is not continuous, or that, if it should be, it works in an extremely mysterious way. But its real effect on the question is that it has opened a fresh perspective. Stately edifices of presumption or idea have crashed into the dust, and left us with a new view of the civilization that we dwell in.

It is not surprising, then, though piquant, that we should find the idea of progress being examined simultaneously by two critics of quite different schools. Professor Bury is the historian of the Eastern Empire and the interpreter of Gibbon, and in opinion he may be described, we imagine, as a rationalist. Dr. Inge is a Christian Platonist, the representative of a line of thought which descended from Alexandria to the Cambridge theologians of the seventeenth century. In his *Romanes Lecture*\* he gathers up some conclusions which he has already made pretty well known, just perceptibly enjoying his own mordant and amusing way of doing it, but not so far as to make us feel that virtuosity has flourished at the expense of thinking. Whether his readers accept his unsparing analysis or not, they have learned to treat him with respect, as one of the few minds of the time that are free from shibboleths. An independent judgment which is obviously an expression of character gives his lecture the true ring of personality.

Professor Bury's book seems, by contrast, extremely impersonal. He

has taken a purely historical survey of the idea of progress, as it passed through the minds which have made it, confining his own part, except for a few reflections at the beginning and end, to occasional sidelights and criticisms. The result is a sound piece of pioneer work, with its merits and limitations. If the history of an idea is to have all its interest and value, it requires a criticism of the idea itself as well as its story, and needs to be written by one who is as much a thinker as a historian. Had Professor Bury taken this point of view he would have distinguished the various forms of the idea more clearly, and would have fertilized the book by his thinking. Only his knowledge of the subject and its intrinsic interest have saved his book from falling into the class of those which are less often read than consulted. As it is, the dramatic value in the rise of this idea carries one through the series of variations played on a single theme; and Professor Bury has condensed the results of his work with remarkable ease and brevity, and always with fairness.

It is striking that the two writers, who do not seem to have much in common except trained minds and a respect for truth, arrive, each in his own way, at similar conclusions. Dr. Inge says that the laws of nature neither promise progress nor forbid it, but he thinks that the assured belief in it is a form of optimism which is nearly worn out. Professor Bury tells us that the search for a law of progress has failed; and his last words are a suggestion that the idea itself is not exempt from its own rule of change, and may be superseded by another belief which will become the governing idea of humanity.

This is not at all impossible. Time, we are told, devours its own children, and the belief in progress is so pe-

\* *The Idea of Progress*. By W. R. Inge, The Romanes Lecture, 1920. Oxford: Clarendon Press. London: Milford. 2s. net.

cularly the child of time that such a fate might well be in store for it. It conceives its ideal in the form of time, and time is the material it works with. This, even more than the absence of a long recorded past, was the reason why the idea of progress only visited the minds of Greek and Roman by glimpses. For them, by instinct and reflection, time was the enemy. Nature seemed to suggest that; the thought which rose in Virgil's mind as he watched the toiling husbandman was that everything left to itself grows worse and goes slipping backward, just as a boat urged upstream is swept back if the rower pauses for a minute.

Even Lucretius, though his picture of the rise of primitive man is the finest episode in his poem, does not let this divert him from his general pessimism. The great Greek thinkers who were lifted above pessimism by a philosophy that saw life whole, conceived their ideal in forms that were absolute and immutable, and accounted for change in the phenomenal world by a theory of cycles. So time itself became static rather than progressive. It was the sense of its futility as an agent, as much as the inward recoil of a solitary, which made Marcus Aurelius observe that a man of forty might be said to have seen all that was past and was to come.

Before the belief in progress could take shape men had to be in a position to compare their present with a reasonably long past, and also to acquire a lively interest in the future. The first condition was not fulfilled till after the Renaissance, and even then the inferences were not absolutely reassuring. Bacon's *antiquitas seculi juvenus mundi*, Pascal's comparison of mankind to an individual who grows by stages, suggest that if we are now in our maturity we may soon be in our dotage. This was an analogy which

long dominated thought in one form or other, till it came to be realized that mankind can at any time combine most types and ages. Before people could set their hopes on the future they needed the belief that it would be indefinitely long, and this confidence was slow in coming. Not till the middle of the eighteenth century did the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, that early harbinger of the League of Nations, proclaim that we were only in the infancy of human reason and might look down an endless vista of possible improvement. It would be a delicate question, as Professor Bury says, to decide what is the minimum future needed if progress is to have value and appeal to human emotions. Our vision of the past and future has become immensely lengthened. The six thousand years of recorded history are a little fraction of the conjectured span which takes us behind history to the earliest trace of human culture; were we assured of a future as long as that remoter past, or even much shorter, we should have time enough to play with. Science does guarantee a period beyond easy imagination; and this thought may be accepted as an offset to Dr. Inge's reminder that our sun is an elderly star on its way to join the most senile class of luminiferous bodies.

The last words of our two inquirers suggest that the belief in progress is on the way to being viewed with detachment, and perhaps dismissed with superiority. These, however, are not the feelings with which one reads the story of the idea as it is unfolded in Professor Bury's record; for it appears there less as a vaulting ambition than as an expression, slowly reached, of man's faith in his own destiny. It was the reply of human reason to one shock of change after another. This provides what we have called its dramatic value; and not the least interest of Professor

Bury's book is that he brings that movement into light. The idea of progress was the refuge men discovered when the idea of Providence was shaken. Only after the old scheme of the universe, centred round the earth, had been shattered by the new astronomy did it take definite form. It was more than a coincidence that Fontenelle, the first popularizer of astronomy, was also the first dogmatist of progress. The impulse to make a shelter against an indifferent universe repeated itself in the nineteenth century. Darwinism struck a final blow at man's privileged status; he was no longer the isolated lord of his own planet. With an unbeaten optimism he wrested triumph out of this discovery; and the moment when he was apparently reduced to his lowest terms was the one when progress was confidently affirmed as a universal law by Spencer. The idea evolves in a typically human way; it is easy to say that it was all too human. But being human ourselves, we must feel a sympathy and admiration for this resourceful optimism, even if we have a lurking suspicion of its fallacy.

The thought of progress expresses man's determination to perfect his earthly home, and this secular idealism has linked it at every turn with science. Sometimes under compulsion, sometimes with adventurous pride, it has followed the victories of knowledge. The application of science to human needs has been its keenest stimulus, and the belief reached its highest pitch of confidence with the rise of modern industry. But it looks for confirmation beyond applied science to the science which judges and ratifies impartially. There, so far as we have come, it has got no final answer. All the later chapters of Professor Bury's book record this search for a law of progress, and the upshot is that it has

never yet been found. Comte, the most determined seeker, failed to discover it. Evolutionism has failed in its turn. 'Always toward perfection,' wrote Spencer, 'is the mighty movement'; but the promised equilibrium between man and nature seems frustrated because both factors change perpetually. Instead of a law of progress we are really given a law of change.

So we fall back from the assumption that progress must occur to the more modest but still elusive question of how far it actually has occurred. Perhaps it is a mark of the hour that this question can be guilelessly put. We will not venture to say whether Dr. Inge, in the very characteristic pages which he devotes to the matter, is entirely without guile. But we may quote one passage from him as being difficult to refute, and at the same time typical of his incisive phrasing:

It is also an unproved assumption that the domination of the planet by our own species is a desirable thing, which must give satisfaction to its Creator. We have devastated the loveliness of the world; we have exterminated several species more beautiful and less vicious than ourselves; we have enslaved the rest of the animal creation, and have treated our distant cousins in fur and feathers so badly that beyond doubt, if they were able to formulate a religion, they would depict the devil in human form. If it is progress to turn the fields and woods of Essex into East and West Ham, we may be thankful that progress is a sporadic and transient phenomenon in history. It is a pity that our biologists, instead of singing pæans to Progress and thereby stultifying their own speculations, have not preached us sermons on the sin of racial self-idolatry, a topic which really does arise out of their studies. 'L'anthropolatric, voilà l'ennemi' is the real ethical motto of biological science, and a valuable contribution to morals.

As a chastening of the blinder human egotism this is deserved; and yet somehow the vigor of the Dean's last words almost gives the impression, which he did not mean to give, that he dislikes the human race as well as anthropolatry.



More vital, perhaps, than the question as to what man has made of nature is the question what he has made of himself. Dr. Inge does not agree with those who, from Rousseau to Edward Carpenter, have despaired of the works of civilization. He admits that our discoveries and accumulations of knowledge are of great value. But this he believes to be the only real advance; of moral improvement he is very skeptical. It is not certain, as he says, that when we are exposed to the same temptations as our predecessors we show ourselves less brutal and more just. Even the men who abolished West Indian slavery tolerated at home an industrial slavery of men, women, and children, which was worse than the condition of the negroes. But since then the obligations of humanity have been more widely recognized. It is likely that the spirit of unselfish succor and devotion rose to a higher point in the war than it had reached in any other struggle. The same page of the *Times* on which Dr. Inge's lecture was printed contained a great appeal for the starving Armenian children, and at the same date a body of starving 'enemy' children from Austria found refuge here. Against the general recrudescence of hate may be set the conception of the League of Nations, the most definite sign that has yet been given of men's desire to live in peace and amity.

We may look at the case in another way. Democracy, which for many minds is the evidence of progress, often has been handled severely by Dr. Inge; and on any showing there are more problems before it than it has solved. The historian, in his phrase, may be a natural snob; we have too little respect for the ideas which preceded the idea in possession. Yet democracy certainly witnesses to a quickened sense in humanity for the

rights of all. A new social conscience prompted the doctrine of equality which inspired, although disastrously, the revolution in France. The equalitarians, from Rousseau to Lenin, have shown small regard for personal freedom; and our revolutionaries have still to learn the truth in Bentham's saying, that all men have equal rights, but not to equal things. But democracy marks an essential stage in human progress by insisting that all men should have the chance to make the best of themselves. This is a truth which must outlive its perversions into equal servitude. For freedom, in the last analysis, is not mere absence of restraint, but the opportunity of each to develop for the good of all; and this recognition has only been made effective with the coming of democracy. It is because the social conscience has so widened that we may believe we are on the way toward a better commonwealth.

But one cannot go far into such comparisons without a feeling that they are unprofitable. There is little to be gained, for instance, by following Dr. Inge into his contrast between the physique of existing Europeans and that of the old Cro-Magnon race, or of the surviving Tahitians and Zulus. The defect in the notion of progress, which involves both its critics and adherents, is that what we most want to measure is unmeasurable. The gains of knowledge and the reform of abuses generally can be weighed and assessed, though in making the estimate we never escape from the spirit of our time. But the strength of ideals, the sum of happiness, and the coherence between men and their environment, on which happiness depends, are matters that soon elude the scale of balances. Progress is an empty vessel till it has been filled with our ideals, and it cannot even be imagined except in terms of some value beyond itself.

To these values beyond change and time Dr. Inge conducts us, true to the spirit of his thought, and with a reminder that progress may be missed if it is aimed at too directly. Many of those who have done most for the enhancement of life have not been, in the hackneyed sense of the word, progressives. Reformers have worked without a thought of the millennium and even with an indifference to the world's changes. Mystics, philosophers, artists, and men of science have passed beyond sense and time to an impalpable world which they found by their insight or creation. Even in the act of living we are frustrated if we enslave ourselves to time. It is a truer wisdom to expand the present than to contract it to a dot before the future. For the same imagination which draws the past and the future into our present, and makes them live there, can lift the present above its time-fetters and convey a sense of the eternal.

The world of spirit, which holds all the highest values that progress tries to realize, is, in Dr. Inge's words, always open to individuals. He does not think that its threshold will ever be crowded, and for this reason his view of the general march of humanity is modest. Indeed, a critical estimate of human nature is not the only thought which tells against the certainty of progress. Science, with its picture of the birth and death of worlds throughout the universe, and history, recording the civilizations which have flowered and died in the short passage since its register began, support rather than disprove the Greek idea of cycles. But man, whose lot is cast in time, must meet temporal change with a temporal virtue, which is helpfulness. Renan's reflection that we are bound to arrive somewhere might console that amiable genius who described his life as a charming walk across reality;

but for the mass of men it will not do. They need an assurance from results, and therein they differ only by a degree from the philosophers.

Dr. Inge himself acknowledges that we shall not have made our ideals our own unless we can make them tell on our environment. This insistence on facts that will verify and attest our feelings is characteristically European. It has been fortified by practical business, by adventurous action, and by the social fervor in which revolutions have stumbled toward the light. And so long as we feel the will and power to mould our surroundings, the impulse to progress will not die.

For it may well survive as an impulse in the heart after it has ceased to be the dominant ideal and long after it has lost the assurance of a certainty. The core of the idea is its emphasis on realization. It is not so much the height of the ideal, as the resolution that our ideals, whatever they are, shall be translated into practice. There it well harmonizes with an age which no longer divorces spirit from matter, and so has found means to reconcile those two old enemies, science and religion. And there, too, it has a function as the counterpart of individual aspiration. Ideals are purified and heightened by the individuals who have mounted in the world of spirit; progress is the mundane task by which the race gives them accomplishment. They may be debased there, but they also may be widened, and we cannot say that one region is alien from the other. The hope of progress lies in the collective effort of humanity, which as yet is hardly conscious of its oneness and has not imagined what it might perform if it worked with one purpose and together. And the test of progress will be whether, in these larger efforts, individual lives are deepened or stultified by the life of the species.

[*L'Echo de Paris*]

## THE DREAM: A STORY

BY PIERRE SOULAINÉ

It would not have been difficult to mistake the château of the young Count De Maroulas for a barracks or a cavalry training school. Every morning a trumpet summoned the sleepy from their beds; and at night it was the trumpet which once more sounded the 'lights out' call.

At the little town of Prévinchères, however, all were used to the methods of the lord of the manor.

'He's got the army on the brain,' said the oracle of the Café Blanquet.

At the château, a trumpet called the hostlers together to rub down the horses. The two carriage-horses and the two saddle-horses were washed, rubbed, and brushed by the four stablemen on guard. Clad in garrison blouses, and wearing fatigue caps and wooden sabots, these good folk managed to give quite a garrison air to the place.

Hands in his pockets, M. Hubert, once sergeant major of hussars, walked to and fro whistling *La Maderlon*. He, too, wore a fatigue cap, and with his war medals and his leggings and his hussar waistcoat, he had an air of never having left the regiment.

Suddenly he stopped short, and put an end to his whistling. Heels together, arm ready to salute, he cried out, 'Fall in! Attention!'

The four hostlers ceased work on their horses, and vaguely assumed a military attitude.

A young man drew near. Pale, weary, ill-favored, and with outstanding ears, the Count De Maroulas sought to hide the fact that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, by throwing out his chest in an exaggerated manner. He was dressed in riding

togs. Touching his cap, he cried 'Rest!' The four hostlers returned to their horses. To M. Hubert, who was approaching to report, the count said simply, 'Issue an extra ration of wine to the men.'

Rejected by all the medical boards, the count had finally succeeded in having his name placed on the lists of the 27th hussars. But he had never reached the actual fighting. His army career was one in which the hospital alternated with the barracks. Of the tiny town of Auch, in which his regiment was stationed, he remembered little but the white-washed garrison hospital to which his unhappy body was forever sending him. He recalled the zeal of the good, gossipy Red Cross nurses, and how they had almost drowned him with their herb teas.

When the doctors agreed that there was nothing to do but return the unhappy recruit to his château, Cyprien de Maroulas had a crisis of despair. Alone in the world, the last of his ancient race, the young man fled to the solitude of his ancestral château. When the armistice had sounded, his old sergeant major, Hubert, a shrewd giant of a peasant, had come to him in search of a situation. The count engaged him at once, less because he had work for him to do, than because the man's presence recalled the beloved days with the regiment, and Hubert had adroitly peopled the château with old soldiers from the count's own company. Little by little he had created that military atmosphere in whose illusion the count took such pleasure.

When the lights out had sounded, the lord of the manor would retire to dream of glorious charges in the shadow of the flag.

There is, nevertheless, a woman in the story. Perhaps it would be more

correct to say the silhouette of a woman, for the Count De Maroulas had never ventured to confess, even to himself, the disorder which she caused in his heart. The object of this secret devotion was Mlle. Stéphanie Blanquet, the one really town-bred young woman to be found in Prévinchères. Lively, feminine, and clever at repartee, Stéphanie, in De Maroulas's eyes, was gifted with all the perfections. She spent the day at her father's café, acting as cashier.

When De Maroulas first began to frequent the restaurant, he had remembered the army taboo on drinking by one's self, and had taken his sergeant major along to bear him company. Little by little, however, Hubert had found pretexts for not accompanying his 'colonel,' as out of a courtier-like spirit, he called the count. Hubert, himself, disappeared every once in a while, a fact which led the count to think that his sergeant major had an affair of the heart with one of the peasant girls of the region.

But it was Stéphanie Blanquet herself who brought matters to a crisis. One day as she was preparing a strawberry lemonade for De Maroulas, she murmured in his ear:

'Would you be willing, M. le Comte, to be a witness to my marriage?'

'Your marriage!' cried the unhappy lord of the manor. 'Your marriage?'

'Zut—I do not see why Emile should have hidden this from you. I don't like hiding things, especially now that the banns are about to be published.'

'Emile! You are going to marry Emile Hubert my . . . my sergeant major?'

'Yes, indeed, Monsieur le Comte. But you don't seem to like my news.'

Cyprien rose and hurried away leaving Stéphanie mystified. A thousand notions of dire vengeance tumbled

through his brain as he walked toward the château. But first of all he would speak to that . . . Oh, the rascal! Yet why? He had never confided in him, and he had never said a word to Stéphanie. He must not be enraged at these simple souls because they failed to understand the secrets of his heart.

Nevertheless, when the Count de Maroulas arrived at his château, his anger still burned, and it was with the violence worthy of an angry general of the old school that he ordered a 'general inspection' in the morning.

[*The Spectator*]

## ON BUSINESS AS A PLEASURE

THERE are a certain number of people who love business for its own sake. These include not only those whose business is their own creation and who may be expected to be as much preoccupied with it as any artist with his art, or again those whose ambition and career are in a special sense bound up in their work; but those—a source of wonder and often annoyance to their more imaginative or more discontented brethren—who delight in work as work, who find routine satisfying rather than monotonous, resent any interference with it, and regard the introduction of labor-saving apparatus and devices and shorter hours as a sign of the deterioration of the race. For the first category public opinion has some sympathy and much tolerance. For the second it has little, if any, of either. In spite of his many sterling qualities, Adam Bede has always suffered from the handicap of his views about work. When the clock struck six in Mr. Jonathan Burge's workshop at Hayslope, Adam alone among the men went on working as if nothing had happened. But, observing

the cessation of the tools, he looked up and said in a tone of indignation:

'Look there, now! I can't abide to see men throw away their tools i' that way, the minute the clock begins to strike, as if they took no pleasure i' their work, and was afraid o' doing a stroke too much.'

The point of view was extremely unpopular.

'Bodderation, Adam!' exclaimed Wiry Ben, 'lave a chap aloon, will 'ee? Ye war a-finding faul' wi' preachers a while agoo—y' are fon' enough o' preachin' yoursen. Ye may like work better nor play, but I like play better nor work; that'll 'commodate ye—it laves ye th' more to do.'

Wiry Ben perhaps was not a good workman. At any rate George Eliot tells us severely that he left his job with a screw half driven in. Nevertheless, the world is with Wiry Ben's principle, if not his somewhat exaggerated application of it. For the vast majority work is still, as it was with our common ancestor after leaving Eden, a necessity. We have improved upon it since his day, and the whole tendency to-day is to go on doing so. Everywhere we are endeavoring to make business more of a pleasure. If we must work—and such is the paradox of human nature that man would not really be happy without a certain proportion of it—we will try to enjoy it. Certain moralists see evil in it. It is yet one more sign of the pleasure-loving spirit of the age which leads to demoralization—demoralization with which every age is threatened in turn. But business men have dared to rush in where these moralists feared to tread. They have realized that a man is likely to be a better worker when he can take pleasure in his work, or at any rate when that work is made as pleasant as its nature will allow, than if the minimum of consideration is given to him, and for this advantage they have been willing to run risks.

But the desire to make business attractive does not express itself solely in consideration for employees. It concerns itself with every aspect, speed and efficiency, organization, the judicious use of advertisement, and the relation of buyer and seller. This tendency to make business more and more of a pleasure was very noticeable at the Business Exhibition at the Agricultural Hall which has just closed. Unfortunately we were unable to refer to the exhibition earlier, but certain features may be considered now with interest and profit. The exhibition was concerned chiefly with that important centre and inspiration of all enterprise, the office. While a number of the exhibits might be of use to the small man of business, the majority of them no doubt were intended for the big firm. Mechanical contrivances that not only aimed at saving labor, but also at insuring better accuracy and efficiency, were to be seen of amazing ingenuity and resource. Indeed so striking was the general effect of mechanical competency that imagination at once envisaged vast enterprises run by one machine worked by one man with his foot on a lever. Readers may recall the rhyme which expresses so well the struggles of some of us with the lower branches of mathematics:

Multiplication is vexation;  
Division is as bad;  
The Rule of Three it troubles me;  
And Practice sends me mad.

How much simpler life becomes when we gaze at machines that not only can add and subtract, but check their own totals; machines that carry out various branches of bookkeeping, and even achieve the intricacies of accountancy. We have not heard, however, that any have yet joined the ranks of chartered accountants, but the preliminary examination should at any rate prove no obstacle. These calculating machines



may be regarded as the prodigies of the exhibition — something beyond ingenuity seems to have gone to their invention. There is something abnormal about their powers. On a more human plane are the multi-copiers and the addressographs. No longer need little boys begin their careers by laboriously addressing envelopes to endless lists of clients. One girl with one machine can turn out hundreds in a few hours. The multi-copier, that great competitor of the printer, is making great strides. From the letter or circular it now copies music or building plans, fashion designs, and elaborate bill headings. It has long been out of fashion to lick stamps, and various 'moisteners' are on the market. But envelopes may now be rushed from the addressograph into a stamp affixer, and the various enclosures punched by a wire fastener. The only wonder is that there is not a machine for folding the papers and putting them into the envelopes. But perhaps we overlooked this.

A contrivance that has made good, though it is not so generally popular as we imagined it would be on its arrival, is the dictaphone. Its advantages seem to be many. It should, for instance, be invaluable to the nervous dictator. Uninfluenced by the cold regard of the shorthand writer, he can take as long as he likes to find the fitting phrase, and need not utter it to the receiver till it can have the facility and effect of eloquence. It should be invaluable also in the office where everybody wants a shorthand writer at the same time and there are not enough to go round. Or, again, it has the immense advantage of accuracy. At the best a shorthand writer, however competent, is only human and may make a mistake. At the worst an inefficient clerk may cause any disaster from an indiscretion to loss of contract. A dictaphone, we take it, can never make a

mistake. 'What I have said I have said,' is incontrovertible, and, however disconcerting the result, the dictator has no excuse in Miss Blank's shorthand.

A disadvantage, as we see it, is that the system calls so frequently for smooth and correct delivery from the dictator. Slipshod letters, paragraphs without punctuation or punctuation in the wrong places, split infinitives or misquotations can be rectified by the discreet and intelligent shorthand clerk. The dictaphone, amazing to relate, has not yet achieved intelligence nor discretion — or at any rate we have not heard that it has. The proposal that the dictaphone should be used by the blind seems to us excellent. The use of shorthand by the blind presents many difficulties. Blind men, however, can easily use a typewriter, and all that is necessary then is practice in the use of the dictaphone and some knowledge of ordinary composition. We take it that where the dictaphone is regularly employed only rough notes or the mere outline of a letter is given, and it is left to the typist to compose the letter itself. There ought surely to be great scope for the employment of blinded soldiers in this branch of office work.

The silent typewriter has long been an object of search, till now with little success we believe. At the exhibition it looked as though it had at last arrived. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the many and obvious benefits of such a machine. Everyone knows, for example, that telephonic conversation and the clack of a typewriter in the same room represent for most people an impossible situation. The pocket typewriter is not such a novelty, but it seems to have much to commend it to the man of affairs who is forced to do his correspondence while traveling, or to the indefatigable woman who will write long letters in a train, undaunted

by jerk or lurch—but indefatigable women correspondents usually complain that the typewriter is so unemotional. An interesting feature of the exhibition was the display of books giving instruction in various departments of business life. The general public would no doubt be surprised to know that salesmanship is an art which has its textbooks. *A Course of Assistant Training, How to Write Letters That Win, How to Sell Goods* were among those we noted. Speaking as part of the purchasing public, we are a little suspicious of the art. If the cultivation of tactful and charming manners in salesmen is included in the curriculum, nothing could be more desirable; but if these same manners are only used to make us buy what we do not want, it would only be the aggravation of a present evil. *How to Sell Goods* has a somewhat sinister sound; we looked in vain for a companion volume, *How to Sell the Customer What He Wants*.

The exhibition showed very clearly the important place advertisement now holds in the business world, although it prefers to be known as publicity. The display—although ranging from posters to postcards, from sky signs to 'knick-knaeks'—was a little disappointing in quality. Poster work in particular is nowadays quite a recognized branch of decorative art, and something really effective in the way of display might have been looked for. An amusing development of publicity work is the use of the cinema. Visitors to music halls and provincial theatres who make a practice of reaching their seat before the curtain rises are often entertained by a series of cinematograph advertisements, but the new schemes go much further. A real story full of thrills and 'heart' interest is given with the advertisement cunningly tucked away and only disclosing itself at the end. It seems an excellent

device from the advertiser's standpoint, but as these stories are included in a general cinema programme, it seems a little unfair to the audiences. To follow Bill Binko, the Cowboy, through fire and flood, over mountain and down crevasse, to reach love's haven with Dolly Dimple, and to be thrilled by this simple tale of human endeavor is one thing; to find it is told only to show how much Bill Binko could endure on a diet of Bull's Beef Tablets is surely quite another. But we understand the audiences do not object. After all, the thrill, we suppose, is the thing. We cannot end without noting the attention given at the exhibition to welfare work. It was very significant of the times. Here the cinema once again proved its usefulness, for films were shown illustrating the various schemes adopted by big firms for the welfare of their employees.

[*The Manchester Guardian*]

## THE NUISANCE OF OPINIONS

BY A. CLUTTON-BROCK

LADIES and others sometimes say to me at dinner parties, 'Do tell me what to think about the Post-Impressionists, or the Cubists, or the Futurists,' and the only possible answer is, 'Don't think about them at all,' not because they are contemptible, but because, unless you are enough interested in them to acquire an opinion for yourself, there is no need to have one. But the question, 'What am I to think about this, that, or the other?' is constantly put by people, if not to others, to themselves; and they put it because they suppose they ought to be furnished with a stock of opinions on all subjects which are said to exercise the public mind. There is, for instance, at the moment, Einstein's theory, or discovery, or fallacy, or

whatever it may be: what are we to think about that? The obvious answer, for most of us, is — Nothing. Whatever opinions we may contract about it will make no difference to the theory or to Einstein or to the universe or to ourselves; all things will remain just as if we had no opinion about it whatever.

This is obvious, yet it is a great consolation to know it and to act upon it. Once realize that there is no need whatever to have opinions upon many subjects about which people talk, and you will find life simpler. The Bolsheviks, for instance; we have an uneasy sense that we ought to take sides for or against them, and we read vaguely and hastily about them in the newspaper — about their atrocities or the great things they are doing for Russia. Yet we have no means of discovering the truth of what we read, and the opposite belief is to be read elsewhere. But get rid of this belief that you ought to take sides according to your general view of politics, and you will feel as if you had dropped a burden or written off a debt. For there is no reason at all why you should take sides. There would be one if the world was asking for your decision and supplying you with evidence upon which to base it, but it is not. You may, of course, choose to spend a great deal of time and trouble in collecting the evidence and sifting it; but if you do not your opinion about the Bolsheviks is not worth having and so not worth acting upon, even if you were asked in some way to act upon it.

We all suffer more or less from the delusion that opinions which are not worth having are in some way worth having, and that is how opinion comes to be 'manufactured.' There are great organizations which tell us what to think about all sorts of subjects, and we submit to their telling because we

have this delusion. They furnish us with opinions, and naturally with the opinions they wish us to hold, and this they do by laying before us just those facts, or fictions, which confirm those opinions. We have no means of cross-examining a leader-writer; we assume, as we read, that he is disinterested, that he is presenting to us the whole reality, whereas he himself has probably acquired the opinion of his paper for the purpose of writing about it, just as we acquire the same opinion for the purpose of talking about it. So we do talk about it, and the opinion is manufactured and men vote in accordance with it; whereas if we did not feel this need for opinions we should not allow them to be manufactured for us. We should have much fewer of them, and those based upon some kind of knowledge.

No doubt this desire for opinions comes with democracy. We have, as voters, to decide on many subjects, and we could not do so if we had no opinion about them. But the question remains whether our decision is worth anything at all when it is based on manufactured opinion, and to vote blindly is not the only alternative. For if we refused to vote on manufactured opinions we should vote on knowledge, however limited; we should have real tests of our own to apply to every government; we should say to ourselves, 'Have these people done what I want them to do in matters which I can test, matters about which I have real knowledge and real desires?' But the aim of those who manufacture opinion is to distract us from these real tests, to prevent us from looking at home. When Dickens's Member for Verbosity is asked what he is driving at, he replies, 'At the illimitable perspective'; when he is asked what he means, he says, 'I do mean altars, hearths, and homes, and I do

not mean mosques and Mohammedanism.' Mosques and Mohammedanism have nothing to do with the election, and that is why he talks about them; if he can make the electors feel they are a pressing danger they will vote against Mohammed, and not on any question that concerns them.

Man is by nature an irrelevant animal; but some men have learned how to play on this irrelevance. Voltaire told us to cultivate our own gardens, but we have not yet taken his advice, and until we do we shall still be disconcerted by the unexpected weeds that grow in them. As gardeners we would rather discuss the manner in which orchids grow in Venezuela than look after our own cabbages, and that is why our cabbages do not thrive. There is no reason why we should have opinions about the orchids, but we might have opinions about the cabbages based on knowledge, and we might act on them. That is why our Members for Verbosity talk to us about the orchids and induce us to vote for or against them; they know that our vote will not affect the orchids and that meanwhile we shall forget about our own cabbages. But we cannot afford this luxury of irrelevance; we cannot, for instance, afford to be thinking about the punishment of the Kaiser at an election which demands our clearest thinking about our own affairs. The result is, as we know now, that we get a Parliament ready to punish the Kaiser, but not ready or able to do anything that is worth doing.

But, I shall be told, we ought not to be narrow and selfish and think about nothing but the parish pump. The answer is that if we choose those who will do what we wish in the matter of the parish pump they are likely also to do what we should wish, if we had knowledge, in other and more distant

matters. Those who are faithful in small things will be faithful in great, but where we have no test of faithfulness at all our vote is blind. We may put our trust in 'experts,' but often we have only their word for it that they are experts, and the Germans, who more than any other people trusted in experts, have not profited much by them. No people ever had so many opinions; in fact, they were taught them as children are taught facts, and they have paid dearly for them. If they had cultivated their gardens and chosen their rulers by their success in growing cabbages they would now be happy and prosperous.

Milton said that opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making; for most of us it is a substitute for knowledge. We find facts so intractable that we prefer opinions, which express only our desires, our prejudices, and our fears. We think we have acquired them by some rational process when really we have caught them like influenza. Nothing could be more amusing, to an ironic deity, than the solemnity with which we repeat to each other opinions we have read in the newspaper and believe to be our own; it is as if a gramophone thought it had invented its records. But from this absurdity we might escape, and from a great deal of very tiresome talk, if only we would say to ourselves, 'There is no reason whatever why I should have any opinion about Cubism or Einstein or the Bolsheviks; and I will have none until I have earned it.' In fact, those people are most interesting to talk to, and most respected for their judgment, who have no opinions they have not earned, who will not tell you what they think about Einstein or the Bolsheviks unless they really think and know something about them. For, though we may like to express manufactured opinion ourselves,

we do not care to listen while others express it. The professional bore is the man whose whole conversation consists of it, and who believes that it is all his own peculiar wisdom and knowledge. If only we could realize that most of what we read in the newspapers is written by professional bores, and that we are paying them to bore us, we should be a wiser and a happier people.

[*The Observer*]

## MR. ROBERT NICHOLS

BY LAURENCE BINYON

THE poets who were soldiers, the soldiers who were poets during the war, what a gallant company they were, and how numerous — almost beyond counting! Some of the best died as soldiers; how many will survive as poets? It is inevitable, perhaps, that the public, having discovered, with a rather surprised shock, that such a bewildering number of young poets existed in its midst, and having found that poetry could actually be read, will become in time a little tired and indifferent. Ungrateful reactions may occur. We shall become more exacting, apply severer tests. And the more ambitious of these writers will welcome probably a more rigorous scrutiny.

Prominent among the generation whose youth will forever be associated with the battlefields of France and Flanders or the East is Robert Nichols. Assuredly not one of those whom the war turned poet, he is widely known as the author of *Ardours and Endurances*, a volume in which the exaltations and agonies of battle-experience were expressed with a vividness and passion hardly matched elsewhere, but who also, in *The Faun's Holiday*, showed a rich vein of sensuous imagination, of high promise in the direction of pure

poetry. Mr. Nichols now brings us his second volume\* and it will be read with the eager interest kindled by its predecessor. There are a few pages — a section entitled 'Yesterday' — inspired by the war; but it is to the rest of the book that we turn rather to mark the growth and expansion of the poet.

Mr. Nichols's endowment is manifest. He has an ardent temperament, extreme impressibility of the senses, and the power of rendering sensation with subtlety and exactness. He has passion and can convey it. His mastery of language is sometimes striking; yet at other times the effort is frank failure. For he has plenty of faults entwined with his strong qualities — something feverish in his note is often perceptible. Perhaps, in the poetry of youth, this is hardly a fault; but there goes with it an occasional loss of grip. The hard core of creative thought, the central impulse that gives direction — this seems as yet unformed or tentative behind the glow and seethe of emotion, the abandonment to experience. But on the whole the faults are those of abundance rather than defect. Mr. Nichols's style is a little uncertain; the texture of the verse uneven; the lyric of limpid, rounded felicity is rare with him; on the other hand, his gift seems to expand with ampler forms, and there are indications that his best work in the future may be on larger lines and of a more solid structure than the present generation seems to care to attempt.

The poem which gives its name to the book is a sequence of sonnets of the Shakespearean pattern. The theme is old as poetry, and Callot's lady, wearing a black mask that does not hide the provocation of her eyes,

\* *Aurelia, and Other Poems*. By Robert Nichols. Chatto and Windus. 5s. net.



figured on the cover of the volume, typifies the inscrutable, maddening feminine. The sonnets she inspires give the lover's lacerated moods, raptures, and bitterness. *Odi et amo: sentio et excrucior*. The story comes with famous echoings, but Mr. Nichols's voice is his own, no echo, though, boldly enough, he rather courts than avoids Shakespearean parallels in singing of his 'angel-demon,' even to the moulding of cadences and phrases like —

Though of yourself, yourself make ill report.

In spite of this, the impression left by the series is individual and poignant.

Come, let us sigh a requiem over love  
That we ourselves have slain in love's own bed  
Whose hearts that had courage to drink enough  
Lacked courage to forbid the taste they bred.

No courage, no, nor pleasure have we now,  
To our own frantic bodies are we tossed.

This is the core of the tragic episode. It is the torture and rage of Catullus rather than the pain of Shakespeare in the *Dark Lady* series, or of Meredith in *Modern Love*. In these twenty-seven sonnets there is none which stands out above the rest; they make their impression as a whole. The workmanship strikes one as hasty, there are one or two absurdly bad lines; but it is all passionately alive.

Very different is the 'Night Rhapsody,' written in lyrical blank verse with the refrain:

How beautiful it is to wake at night!

a piece which shows the poet on his other side of thrilled responsiveness to beauty, and in a line like —

The star's one glimmer daggered on wet sands

his sudden flashes of felicity. Of the three other 'idylls,' 'The Sprig of Lime' is the best and most original. It is full of the summer scent of the lime-blossom, poignantly evoking memories for a dying man, for whom one sprig of it seems to hold all youth. 'Seventeen,' in its turn, is full of the sights and sounds of a windy spring morning as they come to the senses of a girl in the woods; she listens to the 'gay roar' of the wind in the trees and then —

Suddenly her eyelashes were dimmed,  
Caught in tense tears of spiritual joy.

'The Deliverer' is of a type of poem much affected by the 'Georgians'; it is well done, yet might not the prose short story be the better medium? Among the other pieces in the volume, 'November' claims to be singled out for its tender, melancholy beauty and completeness. And the fragment of a pastoral, 'Polypheumus,' makes us crave for the whole, for here Mr. Nichols's blank verse is at its best, and his power to create imaginative pictures is married to fine rhythm:

Like to the baffled wind among the crags . . .  
Or as the mournful blowing of the waves  
Which in the pylosed gloom of norward cave  
Nightly with flood soon-swallowed and discharge  
Of pouring foam, deep tide, and troubled ebb,  
Makes profound plaint and dreary melody  
To lightless waste, huge night, and solemn stars.  
Such was the Cyclops' music.

If this volume does not mark a great advance in Mr. Nichols's art, it shows him expanded and growing. He needs self-discipline; writes, it may be, too easily in response to the moment's inspiration, and might chastise his verse to good purpose. But he has plenty of time before him, and plenty of gift.

[*The National Review*]

## THE 'MAN-IN-THE-DARK' THEORY OF WAR

BY B. H. LIDDELL HART

In war everything is simple, but the simple is difficult.

THIS saying derives a lot of its truth from the fact that we never try to make war simple to understand. The young military student is taught the higher mathematics of war before he has grasped the rule of four. To understand the few essential principles of war, as distinct from the mass of precepts and reservations with which the teaching of it is usually overloaded, we must simplify it and reduce it to the essential elements which are true of any fighting, whether between two individual men or two great national armies. Let us, therefore, examine the principles which govern the combat of two individuals. From the course of action which is correct in their case we can deduce the essential principles, and can then proceed to apply the latter to the conduct of war. But it may be argued that the conditions of war are entirely different from those of a straightforward fight between two men; that in war the enemy's movements are hidden from us until we are actually at grips with him. Certainly, we agree, but will not the situation resemble that of two men fighting under similar conditions, such as in a fog or in the dark? Assuredly, therefore, let us consider such a contest.

That time-worn phrase 'the fog of war' has long been used to denote the chief element of difficulty or friction peculiar to the conduct of war. We suggest, however, that the phrase 'in

the dark' is a truer simile of the conditions of modern war. When two men are fighting in a fog, once they are at grips they can see each other clearly. In this the situation resembles earlier wars, in which, directly the armies came within sight of each other, their dispositions were no longer a mystery to their opponents. But in modern war, with its wide dispersion and universal use of cover, natural or artificial, enforced by the range and deadliness of present-day weapons, the dispositions of the enemy can never be definitely ascertained except by actual attack. So also in the dark a man can only reconnoitre his opponent fully by actually touching and feeling him, in which he thus resembles the commander in modern war. Having decided this point, let us examine the correct principles of action which a man seeking to attack an enemy in the dark would naturally adopt.

(1) In the first place he must seek his enemy. Therefore the man stretches out one arm to grope for his enemy, keeping it supple, however, and ready to guard himself. This may be termed the active principle of 'discovery.'

(2) When his outstretched arm touches his enemy he will rapidly feel his way to the latter's throat. We may term this the active principle of 'searching.'

(3) As soon as he has reached his enemy's throat the man will seize it,

and hold his adversary at arm's length so that the latter cannot strike back effectively, while the grip is firm enough to prevent him wriggling away and avoiding the decisive blow. This is the principle of 'fixing.'

(4) Then, while his enemy's whole attention is absorbed by the menacing hand at his throat, with his other fist the man strikes his opponent from an unexpected direction in an unguarded spot, delivering out of the dark a decisive knockout blow. This is the principle of 'decisive manoeuvre.'

(5) Before his enemy can recover, the man instantly follows up his advantage by taking steps to render him finally powerless. This is the principle of full and immediate 'exploitation' of success.

To follow these principles will be the only sure path to victory, and our actual execution of each one of them can only be neglected with impunity, if some mistake or mischance on the part of our enemy has accomplished the desired result without need for active intervention on our part. Thus, for instance, if the enemy had stumbled and thus 'fixed' himself without need for the man to seize him by the throat, the latter could instantly have proceeded to deliver the knockout blow.

In the sequence of *active* principles which we have dealt with, we notice that certain *governing* principles appear. On the one hand we see the man concerned with 'security,' both from personal injury from the enemy and also from the upsetting of his own plan of action; and, on the other hand, economizing his strength so that while he only uses just sufficient strength for guarding himself and seizing hold of the enemy, he can devote the utmost possible energy to his decisive blow. He attains security by keeping his arm supple ready for parrying any attack

of the enemy, by feeling the enemy, and by seizing the enemy at a spot (the throat) so vital that it will force the latter to concentrate all his energy on the defense of it. On the other hand, the man increases the effect of his own available energy by surprise, striking the enemy from an unexpected direction at an unexpected moment in an unexpected spot; by rapid movements which bewilder his enemy; by achieving the maximum impulsion or 'follow through' behind his blows; by aiming at the spots at which he can inflict the most discomfiture on his enemy; by moving his limbs and muscles in harmony.

All these may be grouped under the one term 'Economy of Force.' These two principles, therefore, of security and economy of force may be said to cut 'laterally' across the five principles of action.

A diagram may simplify the idea:

	Principle of security	Principle of economy of force
Principle of discovery.....	—	—
Principle of searching.....	—	—
Principle of fixing.....	—	—
Principle of decisive manoeuvre.....	—	—
Principle of exploitation.....	—	—

In war, just as in individual combat, there are two kinds of security — material and tactical. The former consists of security from visible injury inflicted by the actual blows of the enemy, the latter of security from the risk of one's plans being upset by any action which the enemy might possibly take, or even by indirect or defensive movements on his part.

How does one obtain security? Just in the same way as the man in the dark does, by feeling for the enemy, which in war is information; by keeping the arm supple, which in war is readiness for resistance; by seizing the

enemy, which in war means offensive action. Let us briefly consider these three means to security.

(1) *Information* concerning the enemy and his movements or the absence of them. This depends, above all, on a knowledge of where to look — a knowledge which can only be gained by acquiring an eye for ground, which faculty covers everything from military geography to the choice of a fire-position by a section commander, and by studying psychology, which means, in brief, an intuitive understanding of what the enemy is most likely to do. To have information is to have an advantage over our enemy similar to that which 'the man in the dark' would possess if he were equipped with an electric torch with which to pierce the gloom.

(2) *Resistance*.—Holding off the enemy in order to afford yourself time in which to take measures for parrying his blow, or to enable you to plant your own blow at the enemy first. Moreover, as mere passive resistance can never beat your enemy, it is obvious that the object of security by resistance is to *delay* the enemy. This result is obtained by a mobile defense in depth or by attacking, if resistance alone is not likely to cause sufficient delay to the enemy's progress.

Security by resistance depends, therefore, on a calculation of time and distance, which chiefly demands a knowledge of the rate of movement of different units and arms and of the resisting power of bodies of varying size and composition. Its achievement is aided greatly by recent developments in tactics and weapons. In the latter connection we may mention in particular the machine gun and automatic rifle. The dispersion also which is due to modern weapons — resulting in the battlefield wearing a deserted appearance — is a great fac-

tor in increasing the possibilities of an attack by inferior numbers succeeding in its purpose of delaying the enemy's progress.

(3) *Offensive Action*.—It is of no use to aim a decisive blow at your adversary if he is able to slip out of reach before the blow has been planted. In such a case your blow will only strike into the void, and there is no more dangerous moment than that which occurs when you have gathered up all your energies for a knockout blow only to waste it on the air. For the moment you are off your balance and exposed to the will of your opponent. Similarly in war one has concentrated one's forces and deployed them in a particular direction, and some interval must elapse before one can reconcentrate in a fresh direction.

Therefore, tactical security must also include means for seizing hold of your adversary and preventing him either avoiding your blow or himself hitting at you in another direction; in other words, you must deny to him that freedom of manœuvre which is so vital. The aim must be to pin the enemy to his ground and also to absorb thither his energies — or, in other words, his reserves — thus uncovering the vulnerable spot which you have chosen for your knockout blow. One can best achieve this object by attacking him at a spot which is so vital that he is bound to concentrate all his energies on defending it, just as 'the man in the dark' seized hold of his opponent's throat — his vital point.

Now let us consider the principle of economy of force, or, to express it more fully, the economic distribution of one's forces. It is defined by Foch as the art of pouring out all one's resources at a given moment on one spot, setting up one's forces in a system so that one can bring the maximum weight to bear at the spot where

success will be decisive. One must use the minimum for the phase of preparation, essential though it is, and this force will consist of detachments to discover the enemy, to reconnoitre him, to fix him and absorb his reserves, as well as detachments to cover one's own and prevent his concentration, and to keep his forces scattered if it is necessary to beat him piecemeal, as in the case of Napoleon's Montenotte campaign or Jackson's Valley campaign. One must devote the maximum possible force to the main phases of the decisive attack and subsequent pursuit.

By what means can one fulfill the principle of economy of force other than by the correct distribution of mere numbers? By following the same sub-principles as does the man in the dark, which are:

(1) *Surprise*.—Striking the enemy from an unexpected direction at an unexpected moment or in an unguarded spot. This may be achieved by mystifying the enemy by means of camouflage and secrecy of preparation, by rapidity of movement, and by distracting his attention, and therefore his forces, from the spot at which one intends to strike.

(2) *Mobility* concurrent with keeping the enemy scattered, executing rapid movements so that one effects successive concentrations of superior force against the scattered portions of the enemy's forces, thus beating him in detail.

(3) *Impulsion*.—Executing each movement or attack, when one has initiated it, with the greatest possible vigor, so that one will double the actual weight of the blow by the momentum behind it, just as one warship when ramming another, which is stationary, will penetrate it in proportion to the speed at which the rammer itself is traveling.

(4) *Soft Spot*.—Seeking and striking one's adversary's 'soft spot,' instead of dashing one's head against his strongest rampart.

(5) *Husbanding* one's own men by the aid of correct tactics and the use of covered lines of approach.

(6) The use of new and improved weapons, which should be utilized in combination to the best advantage.

(7) *By Mutual Support*, whether of armies or sections, all acting together as part of a system, like the members of a football team or the muscles of the body.

It is in connection with this last principle also that true mental discipline is so important; that a subordinate should not carry out his superior's orders in a merely wooden manner, but should do everything in his power to contribute to the full execution of his superior's intentions, using his intelligence to foresee any obstacles which may arise to prevent him carrying out the orders he receives, and taking measures accordingly. It should be no excuse that enemy action prevented those orders being executed. As Foch says, 'To be disciplined means that one frankly adopts the thoughts and views of the superior in command, and that one uses all humanly practicable means in order to give him satisfaction.' It is the duty of the subordinate so to follow those principles of security and economy of force in his own smaller sphere that his superior's orders and intentions are fully carried out.

On the other hand, it is for the superior to furnish his subordinate with full indications of his intentions, so that the latter may bring his intelligence, instead of mere mechanical obedience, to bear upon the problems which will confront him. Let us again quote Foch: 'The power to command has never meant the power to remain



mysterious, but rather to communicate, at least to those who immediately execute orders, the idea which animates our plan. Every soldier should understand the manœuvre in which he is engaged.'

Finally, before we go on to consider the application of the five principles of action based on the two governing principles of security and of economy of force, let us emphasize the methods which are the direct antithesis of the latter. The essential mistake which violates this principle is that of dispersion: on the offensive, for any one body, whether it be an army or a battalion, to make several main attacks at the same time; or, on the defensive, to adopt the cordon system, by which is meant the fault of spreading out one's force in small packets in the endeavor to defend everything at once.

Any commander, supreme or subordinate, when confronted with a problem of war, must first determine what is his actual goal—in the case of the subordinate, as an interdependent part of the whole machine. Secondly, he must devote to attaining the goal the maximum possible proportion of his force. Thirdly, he must supply the detachments, for the phase of preparation, which are necessary to secure the success of the main body. Lastly, he must set up his main body and detachments in a system or team, so that they all act in conjunction for the attainment of the common goal. Such a system will be a combination of striking-power and resisting-power.

The normal course of action which we must adopt groups itself into three phases: (1) Preparation; (2) Decisive Manœuvre; (3) Exploitation; and the execution of each phase is allotted to a certain proportion of our force, which is variable in size according to the circumstances of the moment.

The force set aside for preparation may be termed the advance guard. It is the outstretched arm of the man moving in the dark. Now in order to destroy the enemy we must first find him, hence the first duty of the advance guard is to discover the enemy.

It is of no use, however, to expend our decisive blow except on the enemy's main body, therefore, we must reconnoitre or search the enemy so that we can definitely locate the main body. To do this the advance guard must have sufficient strength to break through the enemy's screen of security. But its task of reconnaissance is not complete until it has also found out what the enemy's main body consists of, and it can only do this by making the latter deploy. Therefore, the advance guard must attack (security by feeling).

When we have reconnoitred the enemy we must next pin him to his ground and prevent him retaining freedom of action, so that our real blow may not merely hit the air (security by seizing). It is the responsible rôle of the advance guard thus to fix him firmly, so that when the main body deploys at the vital point on his flank, it will find the enemy situated as was expected, exposed to the decisive attack as certainly as is the anvil to the hammer. Moreover, if we can also absorb his reserves it will smooth the path of our decisive attack. The necessity for this latter phase mainly depends on the state of the enemy's communications. If they are good, enabling him to rush his reserves quickly to the threatened spot, then this stage of using up his reserves will be vitally necessary in order to insure the success of the decisive attack when it is delivered. We must insure that there will be no enemy reserves ready at hand to fill the vital gap which our decisive attack will make. When the

enemy has been discovered, therefore, the advance guard will carry out attacks in order to reconnoitre, fix, and absorb the enemy's reserves, which aims comprise the stage of preparation. It is during this phase also that detachments will be used to keep the enemy scattered and prevent his concentration.

While these fixing attacks will be the normal method, they are not to be considered as an unalterable form of procedure. On the contrary, it is to be clearly understood that one's action must be adapted to the existing conditions, though always as will best fulfill the essential principles. For instance, if the enemy is definitely located and his stationary position assured without the need for a preparatory attack, and the value to be gained from surprise is likely to do more than compensate for the neglect of any wearing-down phase, then it may prove best to trust to the sudden onset of the main body to secure victory. It must be remembered, however, that such a departure from normal action will rarely be possible except in the case of a small force, by reason of the great extensions of time and space which characterize the action of modern national armies.

When the preparation is complete, the decisive act of the battle is ushered in: that of the attack by the mass or main body. But it is essential that this should not be launched until the attack of the advance guard has definitely fixed the enemy, as the danger of a premature and wrongly directed deployment is one to be avoided at all costs. The decisive attack should be made against a flank if possible, as it is there that the most vulnerable and vital spot will be found, for it provides a direct menace to the enemy's communications, and so to his line of retreat and supply. The decisive attack must be characterized by

weight, surprise, and impulsion, and it is an axiom that the last two qualities both multiply greatly the sum total of the first. As the *moral* is greater than the material in war, it is evident that the unexpected will have an enormous effect. By utilizing surprise and an attack on the enemy's flank we can add greatly to the weight of the actual forces employed in the blow. Thus we shall fulfill the sub-principles of economy of force, surprise, impulsion, the soft spot, and mutual support.

It should be remembered that while the decisive attack is made by the main body, the latter is not necessarily the largest portion of the whole force, and in fact it may be relatively small as long as the stage of absorption of the enemy's reserves has been fully carried out. 'The last straw which breaks the camel's back' is a saying which is very true of the act of battle.

When one speaks of weight or force in modern war it is essential to remember that it is weight of fire-power and not of mere numbers of men. An army composed of thoroughly trained fire units is more than the equivalent in weight of an army three times its size, which relies on sheer weight of masses of bayonet men. Striking example of this truth is obtainable by studying the comparative numbers and methods on the Russian front during the late war.

One must therefore think in terms of fire-power, not in terms of men, remembering that while manœuvre is the key to victory, it is manœuvre of the units of fire-power and not of masses of cannon-fodder. We must learn to depend for success, not on the physical weight of the infantry attack, but on the skillful offensive use in combination of all available weapons, based on the principle of manœuvre. Then when the decisive attack falls on the weak

flank of the enemy — already heavily engaged on his front — he staggers under the blow, his hold is loosened, and under the combined pressure he is thrown back in defeat.

But now is the critical moment. The fruits of victory have yet to be garnered, and comparatively rarely in the history of war has the victorious side fully reaped the harvest. Yet if it be not reaped the whole effort will count for naught, and all the hazards of battle will have to be faced anew.

Exploitation is the side of war to which least study and scientific attention have been devoted, yet it is at least as important as any other phase. Until Napoleon, however, its importance was scarcely recognized. In Colin's words, 'If he did not invent the pursuit, it is Napoleon who systematized it, who soldered it on to the battle and made it an essential factor — one might almost say *the* essential factor.'

It is the disintegration of units, the demoralization of the soldiers, which are the most important results of defeat, and if the enemy is allowed to draw back out of one's reach he can recover himself and live to fight another day. Therefore, it must be our aim to permit him no time to get his 'second wind,' and to this end no interval must be allowed to elapse before the pursuit is taken up.

How to achieve this was the problem which confronted both sides throughout the European war, and it is not possible to say that it was satisfactorily solved. The density of communications behind the fronts rendered the repairing of a gap much easier, while, on the other hand, the unavoidable absence of communications through the actual zone of battle made the operation of following up the enemy more difficult.

The solution of this problem would

seem to lie in practical application of the caterpillar track, as used on the tanks, to all forms of transport in or near the battle-zone. Thus we shall no longer be tied to the rigid lines of movement enforced by the use of roads and light railways. We shall avoid the heartrending delays while they are being made, as well as the crowding and confusion on them, even when they are completed, due to shell-fire and such like causes. The advance of a modern army is limited by the rate at which guns, ammunition, and supplies can be hurried up, even more than by the resistance of the enemy. The history of the late war is full of the tales of promising offensives which broke down solely owing to the inability of present-day lines of communication by road and rail to cope with the demands made upon them by the needs of modern armies. But when we have adopted caterpillar transport as universal we shall go straight across country, and there no longer will be rigid lines of communication for the enemy to block by bombardment from guns or aeroplanes. It has been the inadequacy of modern transport under battle conditions which has crippled the exploitation of victory and greatly reduced the possibilities of mobility and manoeuvre in recent wars. From henceforth war should become more mobile than ever before, due to our adoption of caterpillar transport.

Finally, let us consider some examples of the use and neglect of these essential or, as some might prefer to term them, Napoleonic principles of war in the history of recent wars.

Napoleon's campaigns hardly lend themselves to such foreshortened illustrations as it is possible to give in this brief survey. It would be necessary to trace the gradual flowering into full blossom of these fundamental principles, which are associated with his

campaigns, as well as their adaptation to varying conditions of numbers and space. One can but refer readers to a study of his wars, in particular to the Jena campaign in 1806, where he sought and fixed the Prussians by means of a general advance guard, and then united his mass before battle, and appeared on their lines of communications.

Turning to more recent wars we will first give two cases of the neglect of these principles followed by two examples of their application.

Moltke in 1870 did not use a general advance guard. He formed his plans instead on the basis of what he thought to be the likely movements of the French—in other words, on supposition and not on certainty. Fortunately the French were inert, but in the presence of an active enemy the issue might have been fatal for him.

To take one instance, he formulated his plan for the Battle of the Sarre, August 8 and 9, 1870, before he had any precise information of the movements or position of the enemy. If the French had attacked before August 8 they would have found only one German army concentration ready. If they had retired, Moltke's blow would have been in the air, and there would have occurred inevitable delay and confusion while the German forces were being extricated and reconcentrated. Again, in the case of the march toward the Moselle, he set his armies in movement in the direction in which he supposed the French would be retreating. But the French were actually bivouacked about Gravelotte, away on his right flank. Alvensleben's corps blundered into them and was only saved by able tactics during the interval before reinforcements could come up.

To give an example which is even more familiar to most soldiers, one

may draw attention to the Battle of Kernstown in the American Civil War. It will be remembered that Stonewall Jackson, thinking he had only a rear-guard to deal with, demonstrated frontally against the Federals with a few cavalry, while he carried out a turning movement with the bulk of his force. Before the movement had actually turned the enemy's flank, it was met by superior forces and eventually driven back in defeat. One makes bold to suggest that if Jackson, instead of acting on assumption as to his enemy's numbers and movements, had first reconnoitred and fixed the Federals by means of a frontal attack by an infantry advance guard, he would have discovered the falseness of his assumption in time to break off the action without difficulty, if he had wished. If he had decided to continue the fight, it is possible that the frontal attack would have fixed and absorbed the Federals to such an extent that a turning movement launched at a later stage in the battle actually might have secured a tactical victory for his arms.

In the Russo-Japanese War, movement was slow and restricted owing to the dearth of communications, but at Mukden we are able to see the application of correct principles even though movements are tardy. The armies of Kuroki, Oku, and Nodzu act as the advance guard, executing a frontal attack to reconnoitre and fix the enemy. Kawamura's army attacks the Russian left, attracting thither a large portion of the Russian reserves. Nogi's army then makes the decisive attack and turns the Russian right wing, threatening their line of retreat. This results in the Russians being forced to retreat, pursued by the Japanese, and Kuroki fulfills the principle of exploitation by breaking through the Russian centre and uniting with Nogi, surrounding an enemy army corps at Mukden.

Finally, to take an example from the late war, let us examine the first part of the final battle in Palestine of September, 1918. The enemy being already fully reconnoitred, the action is opened by Chetwode's corps, acting as advance guard, making a frontal attack, on the night of September 18 to 19, against the Turkish centre in order to immobilize them and attract their reserves. In the morning Bulfin with the main body executes the decisive surprise attack against the Turkish right. Having broken through, he turns half-right and enlarges the gap in order to allow the reserve, composed of Chauvel's mounted corps, to go through and carry out the stage of exploitation, which it does by riding to the rear of the Turkish armies and cutting their communications at Afule and Beisan, and finally closing their only line of retreat across the Jordan, thus surrounding the whole of the Turkish armies west of the Jordan.

Certain points which are instructive to note are that Chetwode's frontal attack is made with a minimum of strength, while Allenby draws off all reserves to strengthen the decisive blow against the Turkish right, so that he had 35,000 rifles against 8000 at the decisive spot; that the flank chosen for this blow was near the sea where the coastal plain offered a direct corridor leading to the Turkish communications down which Chauvel could push on his mission of exploitation; also that the reserve for this latter was a separate body placed ready for its task and consisting of fresh troops who had only to ride straight ahead through the gap made for them.

The conduct of war, as we have seen, proves to have only two essential governing principles. To follow and apply these is the only key to victory either in war or in battle. Let us, therefore, briefly recapitulate them:

(1) *Security*, obtained by information and resistance, with its contributory principles of freedom of action and of fixing the enemy.

(2) *Economy of Force*, or the art of concentrating the maximum of one's forces for the knockout blow and using the minimum for the detachments necessary to prepare the way for that blow. Its contributory principles are surprise, mobility, speed of execution, husbanding one's own strength, team work, and, lastly, full exploitation.

Our tactical action based on these principles should normally be:

(1) Attack by the advance guard to reconnoitre and fix the enemy—and under certain conditions also to absorb his reserves—while a detachment, or detachments, communicating with the main body has the duty of keeping the enemy scattered.

Only when this phase has attained its object should come:

(2) The decisive attack by the main body, or mass of manœuvre, against the enemy's flank in order to throw him back and into confusion—this attack being characterized by weight, surprise, and impulsion.

(3) Finally, full exploitation of his temporary disintegration by means of an immediate and violently pressed pursuit by the reserve. Should the fortunes of the battle go adversely, such reserves will be used to retrieve the situation.

[*The New Statesman*]

## INDIGENOUS AMERICAN ART

BY W. G. CONSTABLE

At last we are beginning to understand that the heathen's spiritual blindness does not prevent his producing great art; and it is symptomatic of our new-found humility that the Burlington Fine Arts Club should



have organized an exhibition of the art of ancient Peru, Mexico, and Central America, products of civilizations which originated and developed in America, and owe nothing to Europe except their destruction. Of course, there are those who by seeing in a macaw's beak an elephant's trunk, conclude that these civilizations sprang from Egyptian or Indian migrations; just as five hundred years hence some savant will deduce from the Brighton Pavilion that Sussex was an outpost of the Saracen Empire.

This admirably arranged and catalogued exhibition certainly contains material to give color to such theories. There are masks from Mexico which resemble those of old Japan; figures from Central America which in attitude, gesture, and ornament recall Singhalese and Indian deities; bowls oriental in shape and decoration; and glyphs used as an essential part of design in the manner of the Far East. But in the absence of other evidence, similarities in environment are adequate to account for such similarities in art. Fortunately, to understand and appreciate the character of this American art it is not necessary to settle the question of its origin, though the aid of archaeology, that stepsister of art, cannot be entirely neglected.

The fact is that all this indigenous American art has a very distinct character of its own, revealed in many different forms; in architectural monuments, the ruins of temples and palaces in Mexico and Peru, and in the famous monoliths of Yucatan, pottery, carvings in stone and wood, and inlaid stone work. Some gold and silver work survives, but much was melted down or disappeared after the Spanish Conquest. Fine examples of Peruvian textiles exist, but Mexican and Maya fabrics have perished owing to the climate. Lastly, we have some Maya

manuscripts taken from the tombs of priests with whom they were buried. Apart from any question of æsthetic merit, all this work shows amazing technical skill. For all practical purposes, these American civilizations belonged to the Stone Age, for gold, silver, and copper were the only metals known. Bronze has been found, but seems to have been accidental. Pottery was never wheel made, but built up by hand from coils or in later times made from moulds. It was colored by means of a slip, and polished, not glazed. The engraved or painted designs upon it are executed with an extraordinary combination of precision and freedom, and the decoration of the manuscripts shows the same skill.

On looms of the simplest kind, the Peruvians produced fabrics of elaborate and complicated pattern. The carving of wood and stone shows consummate mastery of material, as does the metal work. One particularly attractive method of decoration is the filling in of incised carving on pottery with clay of another color, or on wood with colored mastic, which gives the effect of *cloisonné*. Another important technical feature of the work is the limited range of color. Black, white, red, yellow, and brown were almost the only ones used. Sometimes blue or green appears, but their quality is poor. Nothing to compare, for instance, with Egyptian blue seems to have been known. Nevertheless, great richness and harmony of color is secured by skillful juxtaposition of colors.

It is important to realize that this American art is in no sense whatever the art of savages, but on the contrary the product of advanced civilizations with an elaborate political and social organization, and a highly developed moral and spiritual sense. As in most early civilizations, all individual and social activity was bound up

with religion, so that art was not only largely inspired by religious feeling but took many of its motives from religious symbols. In fact, the dominant note of this American art is its symbolic character, the use and disposition of the symbols being more or less controlled by æsthetic considerations. It differs entirely, therefore, in its aims and methods from a representational art such as that of Hellenistic Greece, or of Raphael and his followers. Rather, it must be considered as an expressionist art, more akin to the art of the Far East, of Byzantium, and of the late Gothic painters, such as Lorenzo Monaco, than to the naturalistic school of Western Europe. Religious feeling and considerations of design combined to produce deliberate distortion of natural objects and complete disregard of relative size. The religious basis of the art had a profound effect upon its general character. The religion itself was a complicated mixture of nature and ancestor worship, and its ceremonial included such forms of sympathetic magic as flaying alive and tearing the heart from a living victim. With such ideas and practices behind it, this art is naturally one which reflects intense and violent emotion. It is bizarre and disturbing, not placid and restrained.

To knowledge and understanding of form is united a fine feeling for proportion and rhythm. It is this union which gives much of the sculpture an impressive and monumental quality, which recalls the early Buddhist art of China, while in pottery it has produced singularly graceful and satisfactory shapes. It is not surprising that some of the Peruvian bowls in the British

Museum were at one time classed among the Greek antiquities. The sense of design, moreover, has enabled a purely religious symbol to be transformed into a purely decorative motive. Occasionally, patterns are found which apparently owe nothing to religious symbols, though this is exceptional. For the most part the artist took natural objects which possessed religious significance, and modified them to suit his own purpose. The snake, typifying lightning and rain, is a symbol universally employed. In Maya art, it takes the form of a characteristic flattened coil. In Peru, motives based on the fish, the puma, the condor, and the llama appear, all with their origin in animal ancestor worship. In Maya art, feathers are a common element in design. It is a fascinating task to trace the evolution of a decorative motive through the hands of many generations of craftsmen. In the earliest Peruvian ware of the southern coast, the patterns are highly stylized but recognizable versions of animals. These patterns were also employed in textile manufacture, but modified to suit technical requirements. In later times they reappear upon pottery as a purely conventional design, unrecognizable until their history is known. In this way we can trace the evolution of an art from the primarily symbolic to the primarily decorative; and it can be seen how the unmeaning and unintelligent use of a decorative motive produces an empty and decadent art.

The sixteenth century discovered America, the seventeenth colonized it, but it has been left for the twentieth to realize the importance of its art.

[Coterie]

### THREE KINGS

BY T. W. EARP

Arthur, Charlemagne, and Barbarossa  
sleep,  
Round an old table seated, buried deep  
Within a cavern underneath a hill;  
And in the peaceful world men with  
good will  
Plough the brown fields, and at the  
harvest reap  
The golden corn, and eat and drink  
their fill.

Arthur, Charlemagne, and Barbarossa  
wake,  
And from the table a huge dice-box  
take,  
And with great knotted fingers throw  
a main;  
Then over the torn world are many  
slain,  
Beauty lies bleeding, old foundations  
shake,  
Until the three kings nod asleep again.

[The Poetry Review]

### THE BUTTERCUP

BY HOWARD S. PEARSON

One flower there is to poet's pen  
Almost unknown;  
By every path, in every mead  
A careless and uncared-for weed,  
Self-sown.

Yet none with touch more free or bold  
The vernal landscape paints with gold  
So fair!  
Lowly — more fain for show than use,  
Heedless, unheeded, wild, profuse,  
And free as air.

The lowing herd avoids — the very  
child  
Disdains;  
One only friend, the all-embracing  
scythe,  
Culls the frail bloom whose passing  
show made blithe  
The laughing plains.

Grass of the field, to-morrow doomed  
to die  
Unwept — unknown;  
There's not a flower that with a smile  
more frank  
Held its gold chalice to the sun, or  
drank  
Its radiance deeper down.

The rose may canker and the lily pine;  
There would be dole, I ween.  
Yet rose nor lily leave the world so bare,  
Or make the widowed fields so blank,  
as where  
The buttercup hath been.

Cuplet of burnished gold with sunshine  
crowned,  
Thy lot be mine;  
To live obscurely happy — but to die  
Missed and lamented — 't is a destiny  
One half divine.

[The Poetry Review]

### TO WASTE NOT

BY JOHN DRINKWATER

Under the snow  
Are roots to blow  
So soon with daffodils,  
And buds prepare  
The cowslips' wear,  
Buried below the hills.

Within the brake  
So soon shall wake  
The building birds to sing;  
And folded now  
In every bough  
Are bridals of the spring.

Shall love be lost  
In tardy frost  
When other flowers are free?  
Or less than birds  
Shake happy words  
As blossoms from the tree?

O love, make haste,  
Or time will waste  
The habit of your lute,  
Prepare your string  
To play the spring,  
Or be forever mute.